

An American Citizenship Course  
in United States History

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COURSE  
WITH TYPE STUDIES

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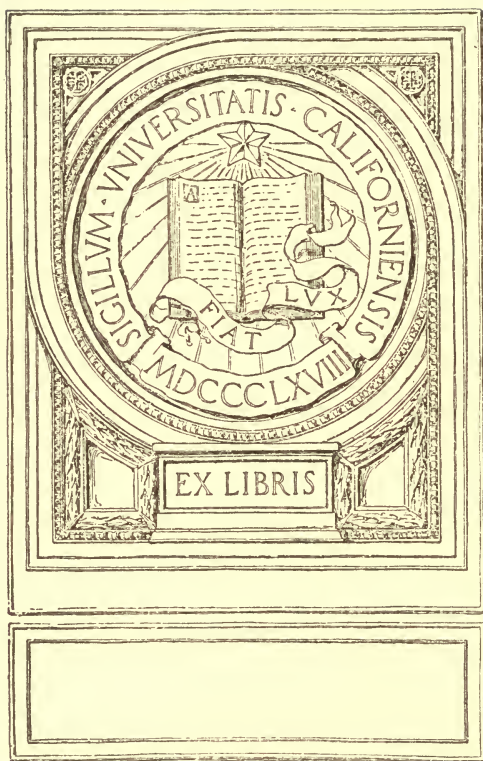
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The  
AMERICAN  
SCHOOL  
CITIZENSHIP  
LEAGUE



CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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An American Citizenship Course  
in United States History

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COURSE  
WITH TYPE STUDIES

BOOK FOUR

FOR GRADE VIII

PUBLISHED FOR  
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

BOSTON

ATLANTA

SAN FRANCISCO

12-15-22  
V-5

THE  
ADVENTURE

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## PREFACE

The History Committee began its work in 1913, holding its first meeting in Philadelphia at the time of the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. This Committee consisted of five members, as follows: Wilbur F. Gordy, Hartford, Connecticut, Chairman; Philander P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education; Charles E. Chadsey, Dean, College of Education, University of Illinois, at that time Superintendent of Schools, Detroit, Michigan; James H. Van Sickle, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Massachusetts; and John W. Hall, Dean, School of Education, University of Nevada, at that time Head of Elementary Education Department, University of Cincinnati. From the first Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Citizenship League, acted as Secretary-Treasurer of the Committee; and later on Mrs. John W. Hall was, by formal vote, made a member. Both, by their fruitful suggestions and wise counsel, materially strengthened the work of the Committee. Finally Mrs. Andrews took the responsibility of editing the Report and of arranging the final details for publication.

The meetings, which, with the exception of the first, were held in New York, extended over a period of four years, and during this time the Committee sat in earnest session as many as twenty-six days. When the United States entered the World War in 1917, it was thought best to delay issuing the Report until after the conflict should come to an end.

The great changes in the structure of civilization brought about by the war made it necessary for the Committee to make definite changes in its Report, so as to make it conform to the educational needs of the present hour. And these modifications the Committee has added all the more cheerfully, because it believes they will be helpful to both the teacher and the learner in interpreting and understanding the human world of which they are a part.

In conclusion the Committee wishes to express its appreciation of the fine co-operative spirit shown by the many able teachers who have made contributions to this Report. Much of the most suggestive material incorporated has come directly from classrooms where the vitalizing work of skilful teachers is enriching the life of the young through intimate contacts with the great and the good of bygone days.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Of making courses of study and curricula there is no end—no end, at least, for progressive teachers bent on doing each day's task better than the task of the day before. And of all subjects of the curriculum there is none so comprehensive and so elusive as the course in history. It is comprehensive because the materials of history have been in the making by every person born into the world from Adam down, and it is elusive because what seems important to one observer at a particular time and for specific reasons may appear to another trivial because of a different point of view and a different purpose. Observers' points of view and purposes are constantly changing. History is not static, it is not merely objective, it cannot be pinned down to a laboratory table and dissected at will; it is what we know of the stream of human life flooded with the ideals, emotions, and actions of struggling, aspiring humanity. And there is no place on the bank from which one can watch the current sweep by. Every one is in the stream and part of the seething mass itself. Any one observer sees pitifully little. The trend of events may be disclosed only through the revelations of many observers gathered



up during many years and freed from the prejudice of personal interests and the bias of race and nationality. It follows, therefore, that what the historian records is made up of a series of fleeting glimpses. He chooses that which suits his purpose; he tells the story in his own way; and so long as he sticks to so-called facts, his integrity will not be questioned.

The writing of history from a personal view-point is easy compared with the problem of what history to teach in our schools and how to teach it. Why try to teach history at all? Is the aim merely to acquaint the learner with ways and means of weighing the facts of history? Is the chief purpose the conveying of knowledge of past events? Are there any lessons that can be gleaned from the past that will be helpful in shaping human conduct in the future? Does a study of history tell us anything of the end of the road that we are now traveling?

These are questions that can be answered, and have been answered repeatedly, *ex cathedra*. But the philosophic view of history, as of other subjects of instruction, does not satisfy the progressive teacher of to-day. He has a notion that what children need is conditioned in part by what children can take and the use they make of it. It is one thing to stuff a child with food—even that food thought best by his elders—and quite another thing to get that food assimilated and built into healthy bone and tissue. The selection of material, there-

fore, for a course in history, becomes a professional task quite as important as the task of supplying the material itself; the one is the task of the professional teacher, the other the task of the professional historian.

The studies included in these volumes are an attempt to find materials in American history that can be presented to the American child in such a way as to produce a definite result—a result that will be evidenced in a better understanding of our national life, a truer sense of historical values, a keener appreciation of our international obligations, and a nobler conception of American citizenship. The work has been shared by many teachers; it has received much criticism from those who have given it a trial, and it is offered to the public, not as a work of genius or even as a finished product, but rather as a suggestion for further experimentation. The authors ask the co-operation of all who are willing to strive with them in finding a better way to train the oncoming generation in the principles of American Democracy.

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# A COURSE OF STUDY IN HISTORY

## INTRODUCTION

In selecting and organizing the material for Grade VIII, we have had no misgivings about the omission of much that, from the point of view of scientific completeness, could not wisely be left out of the record. We have selected and arranged the facts in the life and growth of this country on the same principle that would guide us were we writing the life of a great man, for a nation may be regarded as a colossal, composite personality. We have tried to present those events in the national biography which best illustrate and exemplify the spirit of that life, and make clear the ideals and aims that prompted its most noteworthy and characteristic activities.

For it is the function of the writer as well as the teacher of history, we believe, to reveal and interpret the past so that the learner may understand its bearing upon the present, and see clearly that the life of to-day is largely the outgrowth of the life of days gone by. For such understanding far more depends upon the kind of events narrated and their grouping than upon their number. We have therefore made a special effort to so group typical facts that the pupil will find it easy to grasp the meaning of the most important phases of American national history. By dwelling upon such phases, to the exclusion of a mass of insignificant material without any vital bearing upon present-day conditions and problems, it is possible for the teacher to find time enough to give

proper emphasis to great movements, with the inevitable results of a deeper interest in the study and a better conception of its meaning and value.

Only a brief statement is needed to illustrate, at least in part, our purpose and method:

During the first years of the Federal Union, there was so much jealousy and suspicion of one another among the various federated states that there could be but little co-operation and but little national feeling. From 1789 to the close of the War of 1812 our country, weak at home and commanding scant respect abroad, passed through a period of trial and struggle, in which its very life as a self-respecting nation was threatened with disaster. It not only survived, however, but came out of the struggle with a feeling of self-reliance and self-respect which it had never been conscious of before. Real nationalism at last was beginning to take firm root in the United States.

In the meantime the people were migrating in increasing numbers from the seaboard states of the East across the Alleghany Mountains to the West. This westward movement, continuing down to 1890 and leading to the colonization of extensive areas of new lands, some of which were forest-covered, while others were vast stretches of prairies and plains, is a most significant feature of American history and may be made highly romantic to our young people. The influence of the West in American history has made us a democratic people and therefore demands special emphasis.

Closely associated with the building up of the West was the growth in the facilities of transportation and communication, including the National Road, the Erie Canal, the steamboat, the railroad, and the telegraph, all of which helped to multiply many times the material

wealth in all sections of the country. They also played a conspicuous part in the industrial revolution which was in full swing in the United States many years before the middle of the nineteenth century.

This industrial revolution, with its transfer of household industry to the factory and its remarkable cheapening of the cost of the necessities of life, brought about wonderful changes in social as well as in industrial conditions. It created, in fact, a new world, social and industrial, for our people.

All parts of the country, however, did not share equally in the results of this revolution. The soil and climate of the South were favorable to the raising of such staples as rice, sugar, and cotton, on large plantations, and with slave labor. The slave-holding planters, in fact, thoroughly believed that their economic existence was absolutely dependent upon such labor, and hence they were determined to preserve the institution of slavery as their only safeguard from economic ruin.

There were two systems of labor—the one carried on by free white workers in the North, and the other by slave black workers in the South. The antagonism between the two systems had much to do with the irritating problems that brought about the Civil War.

In handling this war it is very easy to waste time by teaching details connected with campaigns and battles. Of course, the war has a highly important place in our national history, and its significant influence upon the course of events should be made perfectly clear. This object can be attained, however, by making it certain that the pupil can answer correctly three questions: (1) What was the cause of the war? (2) What was the character of the fighting? and (3) What were the most important results? This threefold purpose may be se-

cured in a small fraction of the time that may easily be given to the useless and mentally benumbing study of military minutiae which are forgotten far more easily than they are learned.

In this struggle, which involved the preservation of the Union and was therefore of transcendent importance to the American people, much should be made of the inspiring personality of Abraham Lincoln. He was one of the greatest men this country has produced, and the story of his life is closely interwoven with that of the nation during these trying and critical years of its life. Other conspicuous leaders, like Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan on the Federal side, and Generals Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston on that of the Confederacy, should be made prominent.

Such representative men grip the attention of the learner and hold his unflagging interest, and what they did in their public lives illuminates and exemplifies the collective life of their day and generation. "Shall the Federal Government be supreme over the State?" Alexander Hamilton said "Yes," and Thomas Jefferson "No" in Washington's administration; Daniel Webster said "Yes" and John C. Calhoun "No" in Jackson's administration; and Abraham Lincoln said "Yes" and Jefferson Davis "No" at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. These leaders were honest in their views, which represented well the views of the millions who followed them.

We cite these men as examples. We would, wherever possible, use such leaders as the centers of great movements and important situations, for by so doing, we greatly simplify history and bring out the all-important fact that it is concerned with human relationships; that it deals primarily with moral problems.

If the teaching is well done, the pupils will learn that the Civil War buried once and for all time some issues that had prevented the people of the United States from being thoroughly one in national feeling. The decades between the end of this war and the end of the nineteenth century brought about such a solidarity among the people of all sections of the country as had never been known before. Such things as better means of travel and communication between the two sections, the growth of big business, the mingling of settlers in the Western states, and the coming of the industrial revolution in the South, all tended to develop common interests. Another one of the consolidating forces was the Spanish-American War, in which soldiers from both North and South joined whole-heartedly in the common cause. From this conflict our country emerged as a world-power with a new sense of responsibility and influence among the other nations. We had reached a new phase in our national life and in our international relations. There was now need for us, as a people, to take an interest in world problems as never before, because of the considerable part we were destined to play in their solution.

Out of a complex world power, ambitions, commercial rivalries, narrow national aims—not difficult to make reasonably clear to young people—came the World War and its disastrous consequences. It is of the first importance, we believe, for the pupil to learn the principal causes and results of this titanic struggle, for such knowledge is necessary to a good understanding of the conditions and problems of modern life. And the attainment of this end is, of course, one of the leading aims of teaching history. The best citizenship involves loyal and intelligent service to the group, whether this group be a small community, a state, or a nation, or even



the civilized world; such service, however, is impossible without more or less definite knowledge of the problems which the group must solve.

These brief comments upon our plan and purpose are inadequate because they contain only hints of the movements we have tried to emphasize. At the same time, we hope they will serve to indicate our strong conviction—namely: that certain significant phases of American history should be emphasized and made clear to the learner to the exclusion of relatively insignificant details that have little or no educational value. To this end our logical groupings will be found most helpful and our Type Studies of immeasurable value.

Beginning with Grade IV, our Committee was unanimous in making the Type Studies an outstanding feature of this Report. To explain why we have devoted so much time and space to these studies calls for a brief consideration of the teaching and learning processes which are involved in the use of history as a subject in the school curriculum.

History has to do with human experience. It represents men as acting in groups, as a rule under the influence and guidance of great leaders. Human action is always the outward expression of the human spirit as it seeks to achieve its purpose and to realize its ideals. Actions, deeds, and events are merely symbols of the emotions and ideas which sway men in their daily living, whether in times of peaceful industry or in moments of stormy revolution or devastating war.

The significant thing for the teacher to keep in mind constantly is that the real purpose in the teaching of history is to aid the learner to re-experience the life of the past. This means that the child will, through his sympathetic imagination—through his feeling and think-

ing and imagining—live over the lives of men who manifested their ideals and purposes in what they said and especially in what they did. In other words, the study of history involves two distinct sets of phenomena—the outward life of action and the inner life of the spirit.

Only a few words are needed to make clear which of these sets of phenomena is the more important. What we wish above all else to learn from history is how to make the most of our own lives; how to work successfully with other human beings in the various forms of group life with which we are all identified in the varied activities of daily life. To stop with the knowledge of the outward life of action without getting at the intangible thing symbolized is to fail in the purpose we have in view. It is not enough to know what men did. It is not enough to learn events. We must get at the heads and the hearts of the men behind the events. We must interpret the meaning of the symbols. If we do this we shall learn the lessons which the past has to teach us. We shall understand how and why one course of action may lead to success, and another to failure. We shall thus profit by the vicarious living of men long since gone from the stage on which the great human drama has been played. Their lives were fundamentally like our own.

From the foregoing it is evident that history is not static. It is dynamic. It is not the products, but the processes, of human life that claim our attention in the teaching of history.

Moreover, the difficulties for the learner are increased by his having to deal with two forms of symbols. The first consists of words as used by the teacher in her oral statements or by the author of the historical reader or text-book which the pupils use. And this real difficulty is often faintly apprehended and sometimes not appre-

hended at all by the inexperienced teacher. The first question for the teacher to ask herself, then, is: Do my pupils understand the meaning of the sentences which state the events?

But when that difficulty is removed, there is still another which may rob the study of history of all practical value. In fact, if this difficulty is not overcome in every school, history should find no place in the course of study. It is this: The interpretation—the intelligent grasp—of the meaning of deeds, actions, and events. Such interpretation involves far more than the memorizing of dates and facts as these are recorded in sentences, paragraphs, chapters, and accounts of definite historical epochs. It calls for the exercise of sympathy, imagination, and the reasoning power, all of which are active when the learner revives and re-experiences the past. The second question for the teacher to ask is this: Are my pupils translating the facts of history into thought and feelings which are symbolized? Do they understand what the events mean?

If we are correct in our point of view, the classroom procedure in history should not be limited to the reading or study of text-books by the children and to the asking by the teacher of test or memory questions about what the children have read or studied. Too often do the teachers in the lower grades supply the information about our great historical characters either by reading to the children or by telling them and then asking them test or memory questions to see whether they have remembered. Such work has very little value, because it results largely in storing up in the memory a few unrelated and meaningless facts and sometimes even stops with the memorizing of a few symbols in the form of dates, words, and sentences.

The aim of our Type Studies is to help teachers to *teach* history—to call into play the sympathetic and dramatic imagination—to stimulate the children through good thought questions to genuine constructive thinking toward a definite end. The questions in the Type Studies are based upon knowledge which the children have already gained through their life experience and through previous study. Through their active thinking, through their reading and reports, they will build up new historical concepts, widen and deepen the vital current of their thought and feeling, ideas and ideals. Thus a basis is laid for character and conduct.

When the teacher *tells* or the children *read*, their minds may be passive and receptive. When the teacher *teaches*, as these Type Studies are intended to stimulate her to do, the children's minds are active and creative. Such a procedure makes for keener interest and better memory of facts. Moreover, the resulting mental attitude toward historical subjects, as well as toward all other subjects, is the attitude we desire children to cultivate. It is fundamental to training in strong, positive citizenship.

Having stated the reasons why we regard the Type Studies as invaluable aids to the real teaching of history, we make no apology for the prominent place we have given them in our Report. As will be noted on examination of the material outlined for Grade VIII in this volume, most of the work for this grade is included in the Type Studies. If it seems desirable in certain schools to make use of all the topics we have outlined in the General Course, this can easily be done. We have tried, in the Type Studies we have chosen in this and in the other grades, to present good models as worked out by successful teachers and in many cases actually tested by classroom use.

It is hardly necessary to suggest how these Type Studies may be used. (1) They may accompany the General Course; that is, the appropriate Type Study may be used immediately after the class has more or less rapidly gone over a historical period in the General Course. (2) They may altogether take the place of the General Course. But in whatever way they may be used, the Committee strongly believes that they will help to make history less formal, more interesting, and far more vital and illuminating. Indeed, our confidence leads us to hope that the intelligent use of these Type Studies will awaken a new enthusiasm in many a schoolroom.

In outlining the topics of the General Course for Grade VIII, we have incorporated "Suggestions for the Teacher" and "Questions and Problems for the Pupil." We hope that these "Suggestions" and "Questions and Problems" will prove helpful to the teacher and stimulative to the pupil. In the "Suggestions" we have tried to give some indication, for the benefit of less experienced teachers, of relative values, and have thrown out hints here and there of methods which may be employed in handling the material. From actual experience in the schoolroom and from careful observation of many skilful teachers, we feel some confidence in the practical value of what we suggest.

At all events, we venture to request that the young teacher, before attempting to teach a single lesson in Grade VIII, read with much care not only the General Course, including the "Suggestions" and the "Questions and Problems," but also the Type Studies, so that she may get a general survey of the year's work as well as catch the spirit and purpose which give it significance and value. Then, with an intelligent appreciation of what is to be done and with a proper choice of ways and means of



doing it, she will be ready to take up the study with her class with that sympathy and enthusiasm which play so large a part in successful teaching.

Having made this general survey for herself, the teacher is better equipped for the work of the classroom, where knowledge and enthusiasm will be greatly aided by method. Before taking up the serious study of a chapter or period, it is a good plan, we believe, either to read it over with the class, or at any rate to pass over it rapidly, with the purpose of helping the pupils to get a general view of it. They are then prepared to study with intelligence because, with this "bird's-eye" picture in mind, they can better see causal connections.

Of course, as a stimulus to tracing such connections, the "Questions and Problems" suggested in the General Course will be found of great value. In fact, the answering of such "Questions" and the discussion of such "Problems" will furnish mental training quite equal to any that can come from the study of science or mathematics. Moreover, in almost every paragraph of the Type Studies prepared for Grade VIII there is a demand made upon the reason which is quite as exacting as that which is made by the ordinary problems in geometry or physics. There is this difference, however, that while exact reasoning is required in mathematics, probable reasoning is required in history, and it is probable reasoning that we have to use in working out most of the problems in the human affairs of our every-day experience.

All the questions which call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty should not be asked by the teacher alone. We believe it to be a good plan to require the pupils to prepare a written question on every lesson. The value of this device in leading them to note the working of cause and effect cannot easily be measured. The

pupils' questions used in class will call forth many differences of opinion. Often, on review especially, the entire period may be devoted to their discussion. At such times the teacher will do well to encourage freedom of expression and also to refrain from making known her own views until she has given the members of the class an opportunity to reach a conclusion. There need be no haste about settling every question that comes up for consideration.

The questions and discussions during the recitation period will furnish good preparation for formal debates. A comparison of men and measures should always call forth, in a well-trained class, different points of view and, therefore, differences of opinion. Moreover, formal debates, with chosen leaders, test the extent and accuracy of the pupil's knowledge, train him to look at all sides of a question before making up his mind, and help him to express his ideas in clear and definite language.

In the study of causal relations—a study which gives history a fascinating quality—chronology is invaluable. A certain number of dates in history like the facts of the multiplication table in arithmetic are indispensable. They are tools which the mind must use in many of its thinking processes. In other words, when rightly used, they are of the first importance because they help us to understand the meaning of history. For it is evident that from one point of view events are causes, and from another, effects. However regarded, they occur in time, and a clear understanding of their logical relations demands an acquaintance with their chronological relations. Only the great landmarks—and they are few—need to be known with absolute accuracy.

Little progress can be made in connecting causally one event with another except through the use of the

imagination. Events and factors in history must be considered in all their interrelationships. This requires imagination, without which the judgment and reason would remain forever dormant and inoperative.

Of course, in history as in literature, the imagination has its greatest value in helping us to recall with vivid reality men and women of the long ago as they appeared to those who knew them. In this way the pupil is brought into close and intimate relations with those who now live only in their words and deeds. And to establish such relationships between the learner and the men and women of the past is the one essential service of history to mankind. Therefore, in teaching history, emphasis should be given to the personal factors. It has been truly said that truth finds its supreme embodiment in personality. Certain men and women are leaders because they represent in themselves the best characteristics of the people they lead. The boy has no special interest in these characteristics as they find expression in a whole people, but he has a deep interest in them as they find expression in a distinguished man or woman. By studying these distinguished men and women, by finding out what they felt and thought and did, the pupil will get at the true meaning of history, for the motives and ideals of great leaders reveal the motives and ideals that inspired the people in all their struggles for the betterment of humanity.



## GRADE VIII

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

1. The Organization of the New Government
2. The New Republic and Wars in Europe
3. Democracy and Westward Expansion
4. The New Republic and the Napoleonic Wars
5. The War of 1812 and Commercial Independence
6. Westward Growth
7. Andrew Jackson, the Tariff, and State Rights
8. The United States Bank, the Railroad, and Changing Industrial and Social Conditions
9. The Telegraph, the Dispute over Oregon, and the Antislavery Movement
10. The Mexican War and the Compromise of 1850
11. Slavery Extension and the Increase in Sectional Feeling
12. The Secession and the Beginning of the Civil War
13. The Trent Affair and the Blockade
14. The Struggle in the West and the East in 1862
15. Slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation; Gettysburg and Vicksburg
16. The End of the War
17. The South After the War
18. Changes in the West Since the Civil War
19. Financial, Industrial, and Political Problems After the War
20. A New Union and a World-Power
21. Recent Reforms and Government Policies
22. Our Country a Leader Among the Nations
23. Some Present-day Conditions and Problems

## I. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Washington elected President; his cabinet; clashing political ideals of Hamilton and Jefferson; Whiskey Insurrection; a tariff law passed; manners and customs in the new Republic.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

It will help the pupil in trying to understand the clashing political ideals involved in the liberal and the strict construction of the Constitution, if he makes the personal acquaintance of the two great leaders, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

Each of these men stood for ideas of government which came to constitute the very essence of the platforms of the two great political parties. It is extremely important that the pupil should understand the two points of view as to the meaning of the Constitution. Later in our history Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln took Hamilton's point of view, while John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis took Jefferson's.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

What were the outstanding problems of the new government? How was it put into operation? Discuss Washington's problem in selecting his Cabinet; account for his choices. How do you evaluate Hamilton's services to the new government? Explain clearly the difference between Hamilton's and Jefferson's interpretation of the Constitution. Would you expect these differing views about the Constitution to continue for many years among patriotic Americans? Why was it thought necessary to

lay a tariff on foreign trade? What caused the Whiskey Insurrection? How did this insurrection test the strength of the new government?

## 2. THE NEW REPUBLIC AND WARS IN EUROPE

The effect of the French Revolution upon American affairs; the Jay treaty; trouble with France and the "X Y Z" papers; fighting with French ships; Alien and Sedition Laws; Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

An explanation should be made of the origin and names of the political parties of the time. But we doubt the wisdom of studying in detail, here or elsewhere, the principles governing the work and conduct of the political parties. Pupils of grammar-school age are not prepared for the study of such complex material.

We recommend that a simple explanation of the causes of the French Revolution and a few of its most striking events be made to the pupils, for it had an important bearing upon American political life. This is one of the great movements which will help the pupil to see that our own national life has always been influenced by the life of Europe. We have never lived in complete isolation from the rest of the world. We never can. American history was then, as it is now, closely related to the history of Europe.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Why did the French people put to death their King and Queen? When the new French Republic went to war with England the French claimed that, inasmuch as France had helped us in the American Revolution, we

ought to help them in their war with England. What did Washington think about this? What do you think yourself? What do you think about the wisdom of passing the Alien and Sedition Laws? About the wisdom of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions?

### 3. DEMOCRACY AND WESTWARD EXPANSION

The election of 1800 and its results; change in method of electing Presidents; Jefferson's democratic simplicity and economy; westward migration and methods of travel and transportation; life in the backwoods of Kentucky and Tennessee; France regains Louisiana; why Napoleon was willing to sell this territory and why Jefferson wished the United States to purchase it; Lewis and Clark's Expedition; Pike's Expedition; Fulton's Steamboat and how it helped the people.

#### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

It is of the first importance to put emphasis upon the personality as well as the work of strong leaders like Jefferson and Napoleon. In this way the human element in history can be made dominant, as it should be. In the purchase of Louisiana from France, the pupil can be led to a realization of the meaning of this vast addition of territory both as to foreign relations and future growth. The life of the backwoodsmen, and the journey in imagination with Lewis and Clark and with Pike, can be made extremely picturesque and colorful. In all this the constant use of the map will prove most helpful.

#### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Do you admire Jefferson's democratic simplicity? In what ways did he show it? How did the settlers travel



when going from the East to the backwoods of Kentucky and Tennessee? How do you think you would have enjoyed living in a pioneer's cabin? Discuss the meaning of the Louisiana Purchase in relation to the growth of the United States. Why was Lewis and Clark's Expedition a good thing for the United States? What part of the West did Pike explore? What were some of the hardships and difficulties these explorers had to endure? Trace on the map the courses of these expeditions. What kind of boy was Robert Fulton? What do you admire about him? What advantages did the steamboat bring to the people over the sailing-vessel on the seas or the flatboat on the rivers?

#### 4. THE NEW REPUBLIC AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

How Napoleon in his war with England tried to prevent neutral nations from trading with England; the English retaliate; serious effects upon American commerce; impressment by England of American seamen; the Embargo; the Non-Intercourse Act.

##### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

Here again it is plain that American interests are involved in the gigantic struggle between Napoleon and England; and it is impossible for the pupil to understand the difficulties and trials of the young Republic at that time without knowing, at least in outline, something about what was going on in Europe. In their life-and-death conflict, England and France were trying to undermine each other's power. In doing so they seriously injured American commerce, which was then very large. To vitalize the account the personality of Jefferson and Napoleon should be made prominent.

*Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

In what way were England and France attempting to injure each other's commerce? How did this cause serious loss to American shipping? How did President Jefferson try to protect American interests? What was the Embargo? Why would it naturally fail? What was the difference between the Embargo and the Non-Intercourse Act? What were the policies of Jefferson? What were some of Napoleon's schemes?

## 5. THE WAR OF 1812 AND COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE

Causes of the War of 1812; Tecumseh and the Indians; surrender of Detroit; Perry's victory on Lake Erie; Americans superior in naval battles; why the war was unpopular in New England; the Hartford Convention; the British capture Washington; Andrew Jackson and the Creek Indians; the treaty of peace; the battle of New Orleans after the signing of the treaty.

*Suggestions for the Teacher*

The pupil should see why we went to war with England and not with France. He should also see how Tecumseh and the Indians in the Northwest came to be involved in the struggle. The heroism of such men as Oliver H. Perry and Andrew Jackson may well be brought out. Make clear the fact that by the American Revolution our people secured political independence, while by the War of 1812 they secured commercial independence. In this war, as in any other, the stress will be put upon the causes and results.

*Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Why did we go to war with England and not with France? Why were Tecumseh and the Indians in the Northwest unfriendly to the Americans? How do you account for the superiority of the Americans to the English in the fighting on the sea? What reason can you give for Perry's success in the battle on Lake Erie? Why was the war unpopular in New England? Do you think you would have opposed the war if you had been living in Massachusetts? Do you think you would have favored it if you had been living in Virginia? What is meant by saying that by the Revolution Americans secured political independence, and by the War of 1812 they secured commercial independence? Do you understand why it was that between the time of the Embargo (1807) and the end of the war (1814) the business men in New England began to invest their money more in manufacturing and less in commerce? Remember, also, that although our people had won political and commercial independence they had not yet won industrial independence. What is meant by industrial independence?

**6. WESTWARD GROWTH**

Spain and the purchase of Florida; revolt of the Spanish-American colonies; Spain and the "Holy Alliance"; the Monroe Doctrine; the National Road; westward migration and the Missouri Compromise; the Erie Canal.

*Suggestions for the Teacher*

The pupil should understand what the "Holy Alliance" was and how its attitude helped toward the declaration by President Monroe of the Monroe Doctrine. He should

also understand the leading features of this doctrine as containing what became the essence of our foreign policy. This is important because we wish the pupil to know how our nation is related to the other nations in the great world-family. He should also be helped to see how the steamboat and the National Road facilitated travel and transportation and therefore westward migration. Westward migration meant the settlement of territory contained in the Louisiana Purchase, and this brought forward the difficult question, Shall the new states made from this territory be slave or free? The answer to this question is to be found in the Missouri Compromise.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Do you think it was best for President Monroe to declare the Monroe Doctrine when he did? How did the purchase of Louisiana lead to trouble between proslavery and antislavery men? In what way did the Missouri Compromise settle this troublesome question for a time? How did the Erie Canal make the people in both the East and the West richer? What effect did the building of the Canal have upon New York City? Upon Philadelphia and Baltimore?

## **7. ANDREW JACKSON, THE TARIFF, AND STATE RIGHTS**

Jacksonian democracy and the "Spoils System"; the effect of the War of 1812 upon our industrial life; the industrial revolution in England; from the household and shop to the mill and factory; the industrial revolution in the United States; the American people and their industrial independence; why New England manufacturers favored a protective tariff; why South Carolina planters opposed a pro-

protective tariff; Calhoun and nullification; Daniel Webster and the Union; South Carolina and state rights; Henry Clay and the compromise with South Carolina.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

Four distinguished leaders here, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun, claim serious attention. Their influence had much to do with the solving of the complex political problems of the time. The industrial revolution in this country and the achieving of our industrial independence transformed not only our industrial life, but also our social life.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

What kind of man was Andrew Jackson? What was the secret of his influence over the people? Why did he favor the "Spoils System"? What do you understand by the industrial revolution in the United States? Why did the New England manufacturer favor a protective tariff and why did the South Carolina planter oppose it? Which do you think was right? What was Daniel Webster's idea of the Union? How does it recall Alexander Hamilton's views on the Constitution? Compare the state rights ideas of John C. Calhoun with Jefferson's views on the Constitution. What was Jackson's attitude toward nullification? How do you estimate the services of Webster? Of Clay? Of Jackson? Of Calhoun?

## **8. THE UNITED STATES BANK, THE RAILROAD, AND CHANGING INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS**

Jackson and the United States Bank; the railroad; the rapid growth of the West; speculation in

Western lands; wildcat banking and the specie circular; the financial panic of 1837; the independent treasury; the sewing-machine; transatlantic steamship lines; agricultural inventions aid the farmer in tilling the soil; friction matches; the public-school system; the modern newspaper; the growth of the spirit of democracy.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

It will not be difficult to make clear the influences of the railroad upon the growth of the West, and the reason why there was much speculation in Western lands. If the teacher will deal with only a few essentials, the pupil can easily be made to see how wildcat banking influenced Jackson to issue the specie circular, and also how the financial panic arose. But here and always it is necessary in order to secure satisfactory results to bear in mind the mental immaturity and lack of experience of grammar-school pupils.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

How did the removal of deposits to state banks lead to greater land speculation? What harm resulted from wildcat banking? How did the sewing-machine cheapen the cost of clothing? How did agricultural inventions cheapen the cost of food? How did the railroad cheapen the cost of manufactured goods sent from the East to the West and of wheat and corn sent from the West to the East? In what ways was the modern newspaper different from the newspaper of Revolutionary days? Discuss universal manhood suffrage as a distinct step forward in the progress of American democracy.

### 9. THE TELEGRAPH, THE DISPUTE OVER OREGON, AND THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

Morse and the telegraph; the Oregon boundary dispute and its settlement; William Lloyd Garrison and abolition; growth of the abolition movement; John Quincy Adams and the right of petition.

#### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

Discuss the heroic struggle of Samuel F. B. Morse in working out his invention and getting it into successful use. William Lloyd Garrison and his uncompromising attitude toward abolition should be given particular attention. The effects of his statements on slaveholding could have had but one result—to make a bitter attitude toward the slavery issue. Opportunity for a peaceable settlement became less likely from this time on. Attention should be given to the fact that even though Garrison was mobbed in the North, the leading literary men there soon joined in the abolition movement.

#### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

What was the significance of Samuel F. B. Morse's invention for which we should be grateful? What type of man was Garrison? Examine his statements. What would be the effect in the North? In the South? Why did the people call John Quincy Adams the "Old Man Eloquent"? Discuss the great principle for which he stood.

### 10. THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

The annexation of Texas; quarrel with Mexico over the boundary; the United States troops advance



into disputed territory; character of the struggle; Frémont crosses the mountains into California; results of the war; discovery of gold in California; California seeks admission into the Union as a free state; the Compromise of 1850; the Fugitive Slave Law; Personal Liberty Laws; the Underground Railway; Uncle Tom's Cabin.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

It is important to make clear the causes and the results of the Mexican War, but only a limited amount of attention should be given to campaigns and battles. Of course the acquisition of territory, not only as a result of the struggle but also through the Gadsden Purchase, brought prominently forward again the slavery question. Here is more new territory. Shall the states formed out of it be slave or free? An attempt to settle the trouble is found in the Compromise of 1850. This Compromise should be made clear. What part of it favored the North and what part favored the South? We venture again to caution the teacher to deal as simply as possible with all these political problems. The constant use of the map will prove most helpful.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Why did the North oppose the annexation of Texas, and why did the South favor it? Which do you think was right? What attitude do you think you would have taken if you had been living in Illinois, as Abraham Lincoln was? If you had been living in Mississippi, as Jefferson Davis was? How did the Underground Railway system work? How would the South regard it with respect to the law? Do you think it was right for Northern people to help slaves to escape to Canada by the



Underground Railway? On the whole, which did the Compromise of 1850 favor more, the North or the South? Why did Uncle Tom's Cabin arouse indignation among Southern slaveholders? In what ways did the writing of this book help the antislavery cause in this country?

## II. SLAVERY EXTENSION AND THE INCREASE IN SECTIONAL FEELING

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill and popular sovereignty; Civil War in Kansas; the Republican Party and the extension of slavery; why the North grew faster than the South; the Dred Scott Decision; the Lincoln-Douglas debates; John Brown's raid.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

Let us again suggest that the thoughtful study of the map will simplify the discussion of the complex slavery question. The pupil should understand the difference between the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. While it is not wise, as hinted elsewhere, to discuss in detail the principles represented by the various political parties, yet it seems to us best that the pupil should know that the fundamental principle of the Republican Party was opposition to the extension of slavery into new states.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Why did the acquisition of new territory develop trouble over the slavery question? What trouble was the Missouri Compromise intended to settle? The Compromise of 1850? Why did the Kansas-Nebraska Bill kindle so much strong feeling in Abraham Lincoln and other antislavery men? Who was Stephen A. Douglas? What was the great issue which he and Abraham Lincoln

discussed in the now famous Lincoln-Douglas debates? How did these debates bring Lincoln into national prominence? What was the Dred Scott Decision, and how did it affect the slavery question? Make a list of the crises arising over Western territory that finally led up to the Dred Scott decision. What do you think of John Brown's purpose in his raid at Harper's Ferry? Do you think he had a moral right to do what he did? What would you have thought of him had you been a Southern slaveholder?

## 12. THE SECESSION AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

The leading candidates and their attitude toward slavery in the election of 1860; the election of Lincoln; the Northern point of view of state rights and secession; the Southern point of view; principal steps toward the Civil War; organization of the Southern Confederacy; the doubtful states; Buchanan's policy; the Star of the West; advantages of the North in the struggle; advantages of the South; Lincoln's First Inaugural; results of the capture of Fort Sumter by the Confederates; results of the battle of Bull Run.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

The significance of this great war should be made absolutely clear to young Americans. To accomplish this result, the pupil should be able to answer the following questions: What were the causes of the war; what were its results, and what was the spirit in which it was fought? What did it cost in money, and what in the sacrifice of human life? But intelligent answers to such questions do not involve the study and memorizing of military de-

tails. Much of the text in any school history should be carefully read and discussed rather than studied and memorized. If this policy is adopted by the teacher the pupils will learn far more in a given time about the real bearing of the great struggle upon our national life and destiny than they would by devoting their energies to the study of strategy and tactics, campaigns and battles.

In handling the material in your text, you should give much emphasis to the personality of Abraham Lincoln. His life should become an inspiring force to all the pupils who study the Civil War. They should feel proud to call this great American their countryman.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

In studying the Northern point of view of state rights and secession recall what Alexander Hamilton and Daniel Webster thought about the meaning of the Constitution. What were the doubtful states, and why were they doubtful? What was Buchanan's policy? What do you think Andrew Jackson would have done had he been President? What were the difficulties that Abraham Lincoln had to face in becoming President of the United States? Discuss Lincoln's qualifications for his difficult task.

## **13. THE TRENT AFFAIR AND THE BLOCKADE**

Mason and Slidell and the Trent Affair; the attitude of different classes of the English toward the conflict; the blockade and "King Cotton"; the Monitor and the Merrimac.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

The attitude of European countries toward the war—and especially of England and France—should be made

clear, for it was a matter of the first importance to both the Union and the Confederate governments to have the support of these countries.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

How did the blockade injure the South? How did it affect the industrial life of England? What classes of English people would be most likely to feel unfriendly to the Union in this struggle? It has been said that the little Monitor saved the Union. How could this be true?

## **14. THE STRUGGLE IN THE WEST AND THE EAST IN 1862**

The campaign in the West; capture of Forts Henry and Donelson; the battle of Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh); the capture of New Orleans; the Peninsular campaign; the battle of Antietam.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

The pupil should see clearly why the Union made a strong effort to gain control of the Mississippi. To get this clear understanding the use of a good map is essential. Exclude military details. The objects and results of campaigns are the things to emphasize. The story is a simple one, and, in its recital, the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, the battle of Pittsburg Landing (Shiloh), and the capture of New Orleans should be used as incidents.

In a similar way, the Peninsular campaign should be handled. McClellan was trying to capture Richmond. He decided to sail down to Fortress Monroe and march up the Peninsula. His advance was stubbornly contested and a number of battles were fought, all of which will probably be mentioned in your text. Although he was

at one time so near Richmond that he could see the church spires, yet he could not capture the city and had to retreat to Malvern Hill. During this retreat there was fighting every day. The Peninsular campaign failed.

After this failure, Lee, who was now in command of the Confederate Army in Virginia, marched north. The reason for this march should be given. At Antietam he met McClellan, and as a result of the great battle he had to retreat to Virginia.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

McClellan might have advanced against Richmond by either of two routes. Which one did he take? Which one did Lincoln think was better? Which do you think was better? McClellan wished McDowell to come down from Fredericksburg with his army and help to capture Richmond. Why did not McDowell come? How did Stonewall Jackson help to prevent the capture of Richmond? How did General Jackson receive the name "Stonewall"? What is your estimate of McClellan as a general? In answering this remember that McClellan did not lead his army into defeat. Why did he fail to capture Richmond? Do you think he should have pursued Lee into Virginia after the battle of Antietam?

## **15. SLAVERY AND THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION; GETTYSBURG AND VICKSBURG**

Slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation; the war policy toward the negroes.

Why Lee marched north a second time (1863); the battle of Gettysburg; the capture of Vicksburg and the opening of the Mississippi.

*Suggestions for the Teacher*

In the study of the Emancipation Proclamation the pupil should understand what is meant by its being issued as a military necessity and how it weakened the South and strengthened the North. It was not only a great military stroke; it was also a great moral achievement, for it was the beginning of the complete overthrow of the institution of slavery in America. It gave striking proof of Lincoln's broad statesmanship.

If military details are omitted and the essential facts receive attention, the significance of the battle of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg will give the pupil no trouble. But it would be an unpardonable mistake if the teacher did not emphasize the heroism displayed by the "Boys in Blue" and the "Boys in Gray" on such battle-fields as Gettysburg and Antietam.

**16. THE END OF THE WAR**

Our relations with England and France; England and the Alabama; Napoleon and Maximilian in Mexico; Sherman's campaign in the West; "On to Atlanta"; "On to the sea."

The story of Grant's Hammering Campaign in 1864; the Evacuation of Richmond in the spring of 1865; surrender of Lee at Appomattox Court House; the results of the war; how the expenses of the war were paid; the assassination of Lincoln; the Sanitary and the Christian Commissions; the work of women in the North and in the South.

*Suggestions for the Teacher*

We wish again to emphasize the importance of foreign relations during the war. The teacher should not be

satisfied without making clear what the friendship or hostility of a great country like England or France meant to the cause of the Union.

In working for the essentials of Sherman's campaign in Georgia and Grant's campaigns in Virginia, a careful reading and discussion of the text will probably suffice. See that the pupils get the central facts. The personal qualities of such leaders as Grant and Sherman, Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and most of all of Abraham Lincoln, will greatly aid the pupil in understanding the great struggle which brought out so much sacrifice in men and women alike in both the North and the South. The simplicity, sincerity, and poetic beauty and charm of Lincoln's Gettysburg address as well as of the closing paragraphs of the First Inaugural and the Second Inaugural should be used with the children as expressions of the character and moral nature of the great Lincoln. Perhaps the best moral asset which can come to a boy or girl from the study of the Civil War is the inpouring of the spirit of the great man through whose courage, wisdom, and devotion to lofty ideals of service and duty the Union was preserved.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Why did the Confederate government look to England for the building of the cruiser Alabama? In what ways did the Alabama seriously injure the Union cause? Tell the story of Sherman's march to the sea. What did he accomplish? Who was "Phil" Sheridan and for what is he renowned? What do you admire about Lee? About Grant? About Sherman? If you will find out all you can about the personal qualities of these men and how they conquered the obstacles they met in their pathway, you will learn invaluable lessons for the guidance of your



own life. Discuss fully the causes and results of the war. How did noble women in both the North and the South help the armies in the long and cruel struggle? What service did they render in the hospitals?

### 17. THE SOUTH AFTER THE WAR

Lincoln's plan of reconstruction; President Johnson and his plan of reconstruction; the Congressional plan of reconstruction; negro suffrage and carpetbag government; impeachment of President Johnson; the Ku Klux Klan; amendments to the Constitution; President Hayes withdraws the troops from the South; Eads and the Mississippi Jetties; the freedmen and education; industrial and social conditions in the new South.

#### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

The teacher may easily expect too much of her class here. She should make clear Lincoln's policy toward the Southern states, after which the pupil will have a basis upon which to evaluate Johnson's plan. How shall the conquered states be brought back to full privileges in the Union is the problem. Without a careful interpretation of the text on the teacher's part, the pupils will be likely to get into too difficult work and, in many cases, become discouraged. Only the essentials should receive emphasis.

#### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

What was Lincoln's idea of the position of the Southern states with reference to the Union? What was the difference between President Johnson's plan and the Congressional plan of reconstruction? Which do you think was the fairer plan? Do you think it was wise to give suffrage to the negroes? In what way was the Ku Klux Klan con-



nected with carpetbag government? Do you think Congress was right in impeaching Andrew Johnson? What do you think of him as a President? How do you think the education of the freedmen will help to make better the condition of the Southern negroes? Discuss Booker T. Washington's work and his advice to the colored race. Explain as fully as you can the difference socially and industrially between the South of slavery days and the new South of to-day.

### 18. CHANGES IN THE WEST SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

Influences of the public lands upon our national growth; westward expansion; how the invention of agricultural machinery helped the Western farmer; results of the construction of the Pacific railroads; the Pacific coast and Chinese immigration; the arid region and the problem of irrigation; forest preservation.

#### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

This is an important chapter, because the great outstanding feature in our history since the Civil War has been the development of the West beyond the Mississippi. Be sure to show how the building of the Pacific railroads made it possible to settle the West. The government reclamation service and forest preservation are real live present-day topics. The subject of immigration raises a whole nest of problems for discussion.

#### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

How did cheap public lands and the invention of agricultural machinery influence westward growth and expan-

sion? What were the leading results of constructing railroads through to the Pacific? Could the prairie regions have been developed without the railroads? How do the railroad and the telegraph help to bind all the states in closer union throughout our country? Of what advantage to the country as a whole have irrigation and forest preservation been?

### 19. FINANCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR

The currency and expanding industry; the panic of 1873; resumption of specie payments; growth of large industries; labor-unions; collective bargaining; strikes; reform in civil service; the Australian Ballot System; the tariff question.

#### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

In connection with this group of topics a considerable amount of outside reading from other texts should be discussed. The currency questions of the time are very difficult; the teacher would do well to emphasize the similarity of conditions of expansion in 1873 to those that brought about the panic of 1837. There is a very good opportunity to show how the rise of large industries stimulated the growth and activity of labor-unions, and what the development of "big business" has meant to us. Let the children discuss frankly the subject of strikes, lock-outs, and boycotts. Lead them to see the ill effects of such industrial warfare and to discuss remedies. Tariffs for protection or tariffs for revenue always furnish interesting material for discussion. General notions rather than detailed facts of changing tariff laws are preferable.

*Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Are the conditions that led to the panic of 1873 in any respects similar to those leading to the panic of 1837? How did the tremendous changes in industry affect the growth of labor-unions? Discuss strikes, lockouts, and boycotts. How do such measures have a bearing on the public welfare? What is meant by collective bargaining? Discuss civil service versus the "Spoils System." What are the merits of the Australian Ballot System? Do you think a high tariff is beneficial to the United States? Give reasons for your answer.

**20. A NEW UNION AND A WORLD-POWER**

The Atlantic Cable; purchase of Alaska and Alaska boundary; some victories for arbitration; the Spanish-American War; the causes of the war; Dewey's victory at Manila; the battle of Santiago; Cervera's fleet destroyed; results of the war.

Military and civil government in the Philippine Islands; "China and the Open Door"; the republic of Cuba; the Isthmian Canal; the Pacific Cable and Wireless Telegraphy.

The First and Second Peace Conferences; the United States a World-Power; the World-Powers of Europe; the spirit of co-operation among the nations; arbitration of the Newfoundland fisheries dispute.

*Suggestions for the Teacher*

The meaning of such devices as the Atlantic Cable in commercial and international relationships should be brought out. Special significance should be attached to the treaty of Washington settling the Alabama claims

and the settlement of the Venezuela dispute as ushering in the dawn of a new era.

In teaching the Spanish-American War emphasis should be put upon causes and results, showing how it was the last of the Spanish colonial system in America. The attitude we took toward Cuba, after the war, and that which we took toward "China and the Open Door" are indicative of our American policy of fair play.

Most disputes between individual men and smaller groups of men known by such names as companies, trusts, corporations, and business organizations are settled by the courts or by arbitration. If this is true of individuals and of smaller groups of men, why should not the same method be applied in the cases of disputes arising between large groups of men and women, or states and nations? Show how the world peace conferences at The Hague were directed toward this end but that certain overambitious powers were not yet ready to limit their war preparations.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

How have the ocean cables modified the isolation of various nations and their feeling toward one another?

What were the most striking results of the Spanish-American War? How did we treat Cuba after this war? What was our attitude toward "China and the Open Door"?

What were the leading purposes of the Hague Peace Conferences? What is meant by calling the United States a World-Power? Why has a World-Power a greater moral responsibility in the family of nations than a small country like Switzerland or Greece? You and I as individuals have rights and duties in our life and work with other people. Is the same true of groups of men and women, whether these groups are small, like families, or large, like states and nations?

## 21. RECENT REFORMS AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

The conservation of our natural resources; Postal Savings Banks; the Parcel Post; a new treaty with Japan; the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments to the Constitution; the initiative and referendum, and the recall; the tariff law and income tax; the Currency and Banking Law; the Federal Trade Commission; Panama Tolls exemption repealed; the United States and the troubles in Mexico; the opening of the Panama Canal; the wonderful inventions and scientific progress of the twentieth century.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

In the discussion of the conservation of our natural resources direct attention to the correct idea of saving for use rather than from use. Direct attention to the fact that policies of government assistance and regulation in recent years are evidences of growing nationality and centralization perhaps far beyond the plans of the fathers. The building and opening of the Panama Canal should be given special consideration both as a national project and as a project which carries with it international relationships and obligations in the Caribbean Sea quite new and far-reaching in their significance. Use a large map in this discussion. Be sure to emphasize how extraordinary our scientific and inventive progress has been in recent years.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Explain what is meant by the conservation of our natural resources. Would it be a good idea, for instance, to

allow all our fine timber to be cut off within a few years? How do the Postal Savings Banks and the Parcel Post help in the general welfare of the people? What question is involved in our relations with Japan? Discuss the purpose of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments. How did the new Currency and Banking Law improve money conditions? Do you believe the United States should have repealed the Panama Tolls Act? In what ways does the Panama Canal help our country? How does it help other countries? Make a list of the great inventions of the last thirty years.

## 22. OUR COUNTRY A LEADER AMONG THE NATIONS

The World War as it involves the United States; our country enters the war; the whole nation at war; the "Food Control Bill"; the huge task of providing an army and navy; naval and military aid to our Allies; meeting the expenses of the war; the American Red Cross; government operation and control of the railroads; the coal shortage; our navy and our merchant shipping.

Ludendorff's plan for a grand offensive in the spring of 1918; the first titanic German drive; the Americans at Château-Thierry; Marshal Foch's great counter-offensive; irresistible advance of the Americans through the Argonne Forest; the signing of the Armistice; patriotic spirit of the American people; what the United States did in the war.

The Peace Conference at Paris; the Treaty of Peace and the League of Nations; refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the Treaty.

The Americanization movement; the national prohibition amendment to the Constitution; the woman

suffrage amendment; the farmer and farming; the election of Senator Harding as President.

### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

It is of the first importance for the pupil to understand clearly how the World War began and how it was bound to interfere with our commercial relations, not only with the belligerent powers, but with neutral countries everywhere. It is important that he should know why we entered the war and how united and patriotic we were as a people. The nation-wide response to the call to arms was significantly expressed in the selective draft and in the registration of ten million young men from whom that draft was made.

In these and in countless other ways did the whole nation rise in her majesty and might in the sacred cause of freedom, democracy, and the rights of humanity throughout the world. But emphasis should be placed, also, upon the undying heroism of the American sailors on the sea and the American soldiers on the field of battle. It would be unfair to our young people not to learn how large a share our country took in defeating autocracy and in making the world safe for democracy. It would be equally unfair to them not to know the purpose and meaning of the Covenant, which outlines the working principles of the League of Nations. The war was the outward expression of a world revolution, out of which, it is hoped, will come a new spirit making for peaceful and friendly co-operation among the nations.

### *Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Why did our country go to war with Germany in 1917? Compare the interference with our commerce prior to our entering the war with that which existed prior to the



War of 1812. What is meant by saying that the whole country was at war? How did the men and women and even the boys and girls who remained at home help to defeat Germany? Give reasons why the American people should be more closely united than in any war of their history. Give some instances of the wonderful heroism of our soldiers on the battle-fields in France or on the sea. Explain how the United States has come to occupy to-day such a position of leadership among the nations of the world. What was the purpose in forming the League of Nations?

### 23. SOME PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

The natural advantages of the United States; how inventions, used in the production, transportation, and distribution of commodities, have transformed industrial, social, and political conditions; wonderful extension of railroads and railroad systems; railroad-rate regulation; trusts and the regulation of trusts; the growth of our foreign trade; electricity and modern life; inventions as aids to human progress; movement from country to the city; city population and municipal politics; the race problem; the problem of immigration; industrial problems; education; the moving picture; newspapers and periodicals; relation of the individual citizen to the state.

#### *Suggestions for the Teacher*

This is a highly important chapter, because it explains, in some measure, the conditions and problems of the life which surrounds the student of history to-day. He has been studying the expanding life of the Americans from the earliest settlements until now that he might share



intelligently in the various complex forms of the group life with which he is identified. Encourage the pupils to inquire into the facts and not be content with mere partisan notions and opinions.

*Questions and Problems for the Pupil*

Do you think railroad-rate regulation undesirable? Why was it necessary for the people to have trust regulation also? Show how some inventions have aided human progress. What special advantages does an educated man or woman enjoy in industrial, social, and political life? What is the danger in so many of the country people moving into cities? What is the race problem? In the South? In the West? Discuss the immigration problem. What are some of the problems between labor and capital? How do newspapers and magazines better fit men and women to be intelligent citizens? How does the reading of good literature help toward more complete living? How can you show your gratitude to such great Americans as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln? Even though you may not achieve great things as they did, how can you prove to others that you are truly patriotic as they were?



## TYPE STUDIES FOR GRADE VIII

1. How the New Government was established under the Constitution and Its Struggle for Recognition, 1790-1817
2. Industrial Expansion, 1814-1860
3. Slavery and the Civil War, 1860-1865
4. The Period of Reconstruction, 1865-1875
5. The Struggle for Justice, 1875-1920



(1) HOW THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION, 1790-1817

FREDRIC P. WOELLNER

*Outline*

I. The Plan of Government.

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## PART I

### *How the People of the United States Tried to Work Out a New Form of Government*

The Constitution was sent to the states (September, 1787) for their approval. By June 21, 1788, it had been ratified by nine states (the necessary number to make it effective); by May 29, 1790, the last state was induced to ratify it (see Hart's *Essentials of American History*, pp. 213-218). How did this affect the states? It made

them a strong political unit. In what other ways were they united? "America is physically one." Tradition, religion, opposition to England, trade, commerce. What relation do you think existed between the Constitution and all these elements of unity? The Constitution grew out of them.

So we have a people bound together. What would they have to do now? Elect a Congress, a President, and Vice-President. How would they do it? What problems would soon arise in this Congress? Would these problems be more or less difficult than those of the Constitutional Convention? It is easier to decide upon principles than upon methods of detail. In spite of this why would one want to be a member of this Congress? For honor and the opportunity it gave for leadership. Why would one not want to be? Difficulty of election; difficult work if elected; almost hopeless outlook for approval after one's best work is done. Why would it be so difficult to win approval? There are always many ways of interpreting a principle. People disagree as to the meaning.

Many men were anxious to run for Congress. Who could vote for members of Congress? (See the Constitution.) If the Constitution did not define the franchise, where would this question be settled? In the individual states. What is the Nineteenth Amendment? In the South, the "grandfather clause" keeps many negroes from the polls. Why is there not a uniform practice of voting in all the states, especially at national elections? The state is the unit of political authority. Why? What are some of the disadvantages of such a unit? (See the campaign of 1888. Why was Cleveland defeated although he received a larger popular vote than Harrison?)

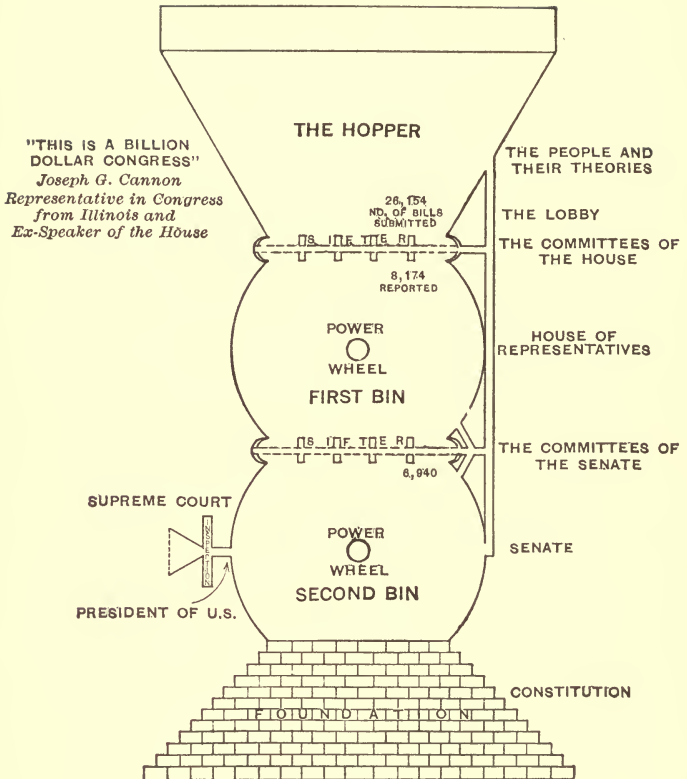
Before the Constitution was adopted, and for a brief period thereafter, most of the states had property qualifications for voting. What arguments can you give for this? Against? What do you think would be a better qualification? What are the qualifications for voting in your state? What were they eighty years ago? What forces brought about the change? How did the method of electing the President and Vice-President differ from that of electing the congressmen? (Article II, Sections 2 and 3 of the Constitution.) What objections are there to this plan of election? Why did the Congress plan for presidential electors? Afraid of the people's will. (See Madison's Diary.) Why was this a wise provision? In what way was it unwise? How is the will of the people still prevented from expressing itself hastily? Courts, legislatures, city councils, and other representative bodies. What attempts are being made to remove these checks on popular control? Initiative; referendum; recall of officials, and so on. How could the people of those days remove the checks to their will?

The house of electors met and unanimously elected George Washington as President. Why do you think he was elected? "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." John Adams was elected Vice-President. When would they begin their duties? After the inauguration. Congress was supposed to meet on March 4, 1789, to witness the inaugural of the executives. This took place, however, on April 30 at Broad and Wall Streets, New York City. What do you think caused the delay? Congress did not convene until April 1. Difficulty of organizing the Congress. Difficulty of traveling. What made the traveling so difficult? How would one go from Boston to New York in 1789? What were the traveling facilities then? What kind of inns



were there at that time? (Individual reports can be made on these questions.) When all was ready, Washington made his address. What did he plan to do? What do you think of his plans? It was his view of the Constitution. Other views were held by able men. What could these men do? Why would one expect a great number of proposals to amend the Constitution? Much afterthought; as men worked they saw new needs. A different group of men were working on it. About four hundred proposals were made. How could Congress deal with so many in a limited time? Referred them to a committee. How would this help? How would similar committees be used? Thus arose the committee system in Congress. While it has no constitutional warrant, it is the custom even to the present day. How many committees has the House to-day? There are sixty-one of them: Rivers and Harbors, Ways and Means, Pensions, etc. The Senate? Seventy-five. What are the advantages of this system? It serves as a sieve to keep all undesirable matter out of the consideration of the House and the Senate. The disadvantages? It allows a few men to decide what should and what should not go before the House and the Senate. What provisions were made by the Constitution to amend it? (See the Constitution, Art. V.) Why do you think amendment was made so difficult? The stability of a Constitution is maintained by making amendment difficult. These four hundred resolutions were reduced to twelve. Only ten passed. What were they? (Read the first ten amendments). Why should these ten amendments be called "The Little Bill of Rights"? Why have many people come to consider the Constitution sacred? What should our attitude be toward it? How would one proceed to get a bill through Congress?

## THE LEGISLATIVE MILL



What makes this mill go around?

Power wheel—party politics.

Power—public opinion.

How would one go about putting something through?

Why must the foundation be rearranged occasionally?

What may happen if too much of the foundation is changed at one time?

Why would this mill be a good model for a world federation?

Why couldn't Washington fulfil all the requirements of the Executive Department? How was the King of England aided in his work at that time? It is the practice of governments to have a board of some kind to aid the executive. What should be the authority of the President over this board? Absolute authority, because the executive is held responsible for the conduct of the board. In 1867 Congress passed a "tenure of office act" which denied the President this right of removing the members of his Cabinet. A few years later, the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. Why? What departments are represented in the present Cabinet of the President? How many of these departments do you think were needed in Washington's time? Only three were created—Departments of State, War, and Treasury. Thomas Jefferson, Henry Knox, Alexander Hamilton—appointed respectively. The Post-Office dated back to colonial times, but was not made a department of the Cabinet until later. Samuel Osgood was the first Postmaster-General. What probably guided Washington's appointments? What other ideas might have influenced him? Why have other departments of the Cabinet been added from time to time? What do you think of a Department of Education? What other departments do you think ought to be added to the present number? How does the appointment of our Cabinet differ from that of the English Ministry? The British Prime Minister holds office at the pleasure of the Parliament. He forms his own Cabinet. How does the formation of the British Cabinet differ from that of the American? Which is the better?

What provisions were made by the Constitution for establishing justice? (Art. III.) A Supreme Court of the United States; subordinate courts. Why were such

courts necessary in spite of the existence of state courts? To what court would you take the case of a man who was injured in one state, but who lived in another? In what court would you settle a case in which one state sues another? In the case of one citizen suing another in a different state? Why would other courts be necessary besides a Supreme Court? Too many cases would be brought before it. Why are circuit courts established? Why are district courts established?

Suppose a man, living in Cincinnati, should go over the Ohio River and there be struck by a street car. Where would he take his case? To the United States Court in that district. Why? Suppose he lost his suit through the fact that he did not have enough evidence at the time to win the case and later got further evidence. What could he do? Take it to the United States Circuit Court when it sat in that district. Supposing he were granted fifty thousand dollars by this court. What could the car company do now? Take it to the Supreme Court. Why would this decision be final? In what sense does that court make the law? As that court interprets the law, so the law stands.

Each state has a similar system of justice. What is the disadvantage of having this gradation in courts? Processes are long and costly. It often takes years to get a final hearing. Why can one court overrule the decision of another? What are the advantages of this gradation? It assures justice. Compare the tenure of office of United States judges with other officials of the government. Life terms for the judges. What are the advantages of life tenure of office? What check to judges has been provided by the Constitution? (Art. II, Sec. 4.) Why is impeachment not resorted to for minor abuse of office? Some men believe that the people

should have the right to recall judges. What do you think would be the effect of such a method? Some men advocate the recall of judicial decisions. What do you think of this?

Who is the chief justice of the United States? John Jay was the first one. Who is the judge of the United States Circuit Court for your district? Your district court judge? By whom were they appointed?

Why would finance be a vexing problem at the beginning of the Government? Our national debt was very large for that time,—fifty-two million dollars. In the running of this government, less than three hundred and fifty men were employed at that time. Compare this with the number of employees of your city. What is the bonded debt of your city or of some large city? How would the government raise sufficient funds for paying the debt and for meeting current expenses? By taxation or loans. Why would both these methods be difficult? Why had the colonists opposed England? Why would it be difficult to borrow money?

Alexander Hamilton was made the head of the Treasury Department and was instructed to work out a system of finance. Let us see how he put the new democracy on a firm financial basis. He advocated several plans. First of all, he advocated the assumption of the debt incurred under the Articles of Confederation and also that of each state. How would such a policy affect the United States? It would increase its need of money and at the same time create a confidence in the financial integrity of the new government. Why would some men oppose this plan? What could they do? How could their arguments be met? Jefferson, who was leading the opposition to the assumption of state debts by the central government, was trying to get the national capital located in the South. A com-

promise was therefore effected. As an example of the extent to which this policy was followed, it was decided to let Jefferson have his way in locating the capital where it now stands as soon as he withdrew his opposition to Hamilton's plan of finance.

The debts and the cost of running the government made the demand for money very urgent. How does the government get money to-day? How could Hamilton get all this money in a comparatively quick time? Direct taxation. What effect would great taxation have upon the people? Hamilton didn't want to burden the people by such a heavy tax as his policy would demand. He therefore did not wish to rely on this method alone for getting money. In what other way could the people be taxed? Why would there not be as great an objection to the tariff as to direct taxation? People do not notice or feel it so quickly.

Another way of raising money was by excises. Whiskey was taxed eight cents a gallon. (See "Whiskey Rebellion" in text.)

How would all these policies affect the financial standing of the United States? Money began to fill the treasury. How could it be spent? What would be the effect of paying off these old debts? Confidence was restored. Government securities rose to par. Business boomed. What gives you confidence in the value of a dollar bill? Gold and silver in the Treasury at Washington. Is that all? Confidence in the government there. So, then, it depends largely on confidence. How did Hamilton's policy affect confidence? How could Hamilton make the exchange of wealth easier? (See the "Coinage Act" of April 2, 1792.) By this act a mint was established where any one could take gold and silver and have it made into money. What would be the advantage of having money



like this? Common medium of exchange; and elastic currency.

In what other way could Hamilton help the financial situation? Why would the government have to establish a bank? Sufficient private capital was lacking; a bank was needed. How would the establishment of a United States Bank help? Act as an agent of the government. Make loans to business men. Afford a place to keep the gold and silver that would secure the notes. What was the constitutional authority for such a bank? No direct authority. What section might be so interpreted? (Art. I, Sec. 8, No. 18.) In 1818 the Supreme Court of the United States gave its sanction to "implied powers." On Feb. 25, 1791, the United States Bank was chartered.

Not every one was in accord with the work of Congress and the President. Why would the opposition grow as time went on? Positive legislation always makes some one dissatisfied. What would be the result of this in time? After a while these dissatisfied ones would be numerous enough to gain control. Some people thought Congress had gone too far. Why might they think so? Congress had carried out the Constitution even beyond the limits of "implied powers." With Jefferson they believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. Which is the better? What should be our attitude about changes in a Constitution? Why was the Constitution adopted? In response to new conditions. How, then, would you justify an amendment? How frequent is the need likely to be?

This first Congress was made up of representatives elected by a property-owning class. How would that affect the policies of Congress? What would be the effect of such policies? Hamilton once said, "Your people, your people, sir, is a great boast." What does



this indicate as to Hamilton's ideas? Jefferson said, "Those who identify themselves with the people have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depository of the public interest." Which do you think is the better statement? Which would get the popular support? Jefferson's. The most powerful support? Hamilton's, because of the property qualifications. What would be the effect of such discussion? Jefferson and Hamilton contended daily. Finally Jefferson resigned from the cabinet. What does that show?

What could Jefferson now do to advance his views? Organize the opposition to Washington's government into a political party. What would the new party have to do before hoping to secure an election? Extend the suffrage, especially in the new states. How could they do that? Work in the various states to change the qualifications for voting.

In 1792 Washington and Adams were again elected and with them a Congress in which they had a majority. The Republicans, as the opposition party was then called, succeeded in electing only a few men. Why could they still remain hopeful? Suffrage was being extended. In 1796 Adams succeeded Washington, and Jefferson became Vice-President.

What would Adams do? Follow Washington's policy; he extended the principle of "implied powers." For example, he induced Congress to raise the term of naturalization to fourteen years. How might this affect the people? The press abused him. Why would it abuse Adams more than it did Washington? What could he do? Congress passed a Sedition Act, whereby it was made a felony to publish anything that would bring the President or Congress into contempt or disrepute. Com-

pare this act with Amendment No. 1. What would be the effect of such an act? How is the freedom of the press limited? Libel laws. At about the same time an Alien Act was passed, permitting the President to banish foreigners for comparatively trivial reasons. What would be the effect of this act? The storm that was raised on account of this brought about the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts (1799). Compare these Acts of 1799 with the espionage laws of the United States during the World War.

The gap widened between the Federalists and the Republicans. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were passed. (See text.) What are the arguments for and against such resolutions?

Why would Thomas Jefferson have a good chance of victory in 1800? Suffrage had been extended in many states. The opposition to the government was strong. He was elected with Aaron Burr as Vice-President. Why could the election of 1800 be termed a political revolution?

What would Jefferson's friends demand of him first? Why was it thought necessary to have only Republicans in power? How could Jefferson remove a man? In a short time one hundred and nine Federal office-holders (one-third of all offices) were replaced by Republicans. How could Jefferson defend such a policy? He needed men who were in sympathy with him if any success was to be hoped for. (Have a report on the "Midnight Judges"; Jefferson's Works, Ford VIII 45. 2.) Why did Jefferson have the right to abolish these offices? What else would the party demand of Jefferson? Carry out his pledges. What were they? (See text.) Why would it be harder to keep popular support than to get it? Jefferson's ideas about democracy which he had entertained before

his election were greatly modified after he took office. New conditions forced a change of views. Why are men as well as principles the paramount issue of every election?

## PART II

### *Territorial Growth*

Jefferson had an idea that the United States should grow. In what ways could it grow? Widen its boundaries. What was the extent of the United States in 1800? What were the disadvantages of such limitation? No western outlet. What people might rightly lay claim to the Mississippi valley? The Indians, since they occupied it first. The French, since they explored it first. The British, since they had driven the French out of America. The people of the United States, since they had driven out the English. The Spaniards, since they had taken it from England during the Revolution.

How could Jefferson get unquestioned possession of the land directly west of the Mississippi? Spain ceded this territory to France in 1800. Which would seem to be the better neighbor for the United States, France or Spain? Why was the French possession of such territory thought to be a menace to the United States? The rise of Napoleon in Europe. What section of the United States would especially desire to have the United States own this territory? The Western people demanded the control of the Mississippi. It opened the only way to their commerce. What could Jefferson do? Seize the territory or purchase it. How could he proceed to purchase it? Napoleon had absolute control of France at this time. He wanted to get control over Europe. Why would he be willing to sell this land? He needed the money; it would be difficult to hold. (See the story of

Touissant L'Ouverture.) It was finally bought for fifteen million dollars. What constitutional authority did Jefferson have for such a purchase? None. How could he justify it? It was desirable to have it. "Implied powers." Why should he exercise his privilege of "implied powers" when he had opposed the exercise of this policy before? Responsibility sometimes changes one's ideas. What did this purchase mean? Estimate value of this territory to-day.

How could Jefferson provide for further territorial growth? (Assign reports on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. See *The Jeffersonian System*, E. Channing, p. 86; *Cone's Lewis and Clark Expedition*; *Thwaite's Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*. For exploration of Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, see *Cone's Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*.) What was the significance of these explorations?

Florida was finally bought from Spain in 1819. What was the prospect for the settlement of all this new territory? Jefferson is quoted as saying, "It will take centuries to people the Northwest." Why do you think he thought so? Why did his prophecy fail? Why did Jefferson's popularity increase through the exercise of "implied powers," while that of Adams decreased in the exercise of the same principle? Jefferson applied this policy to meet the popular demands, while Adams failed to comprehend the popular will. In the election of 1804 Jefferson and Clinton swept the country.

## PART III

*Contact with Europe*

HOW THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES BROUGHT HER  
INTO CONTACT WITH EUROPE AT A TIME WHEN  
THE NATIONS OF EUROPE WERE UNDER-  
GOING MARKED CHANGES

Let us first see what these changes were in France. The writings of two Frenchmen—Voltaire and Rousseau—were widely read in America. They advocated a radical departure from old ideas and pleaded for the establishment of a new order of things. They wanted society based upon reason and principle rather than upon tradition. How did these ideas find expression in the Constitution? Why would France not respond as promptly to these ideas as America did? How would the success of the American Revolution affect the French people? Increase their enthusiasm. Instead of getting better, the conditions in France grew steadily worse. The king became more despotic. When the people asked for bread, he said, "Give them bullets." What could the French people do? The power of the king was so great that they could do little. If these things continued, what would eventually happen? When the king saw that the discontent of the people was becoming greater each day, what should he have done? In 1789 he granted them a Constitution. What effect would this have on the people? Instead of growing better, conditions remained about the same. What might the people do? Follow the example of America and declare a republic. How could they do it? From 1792 to 1795 there was a reign of terror in Paris. The king and queen and many of the aristocracy were put to death. How would the

French people justify such wholesale murder? During these three years, the country was ruled by a National Assembly, which consisted of several hundred members drawn from various parts of France. This congress aimed to do little more than to free France from despotism. What would be the defect of such a government? It was too unwieldy to do positive things,—for example, to make laws, regulate trade, etc. How could the French secure a better government? The National Assembly appointed a Directory of five who ruled about four years. Why didn't they elect a President? France feared a one-man ruler. Why? What would be the disadvantages of having an executive board of five? Suggest how those disadvantages could be overcome. The board was reduced to a Consulate of three. How would this Consulate be governed? The third man would rule it. A certain Corsican, Napoleon Bonaparte by name, became that third man. What could he do? By 1804, he became the ruler of France. What qualities enabled him to occupy this place? Aggressiveness, administrative and military ability, boundless self-confidence and an ambition that stirred the imagination of the French people.

What effect would these changes in France have on the other nations of Europe? They caused apprehension among the European rulers. What could they do? After the downfall of Napoleon the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia made an alliance known as the Holy Alliance. How could they defend such an alliance? They declared to the world that they had to protect established governments against revolutions. They understood among themselves that kings ruled by "Divine Right" and that they would support each other against other nations. What did they mean?

In spite of coalitions against him, Napoleon and his



army fought until half of the continent of Europe was under his power. What reasons would England have for entering the struggle? Where would Napoleon's strength lie? In his army. Where would England's strength lie? In her navy. What do you think the outcome of such a struggle would be?

What would each try to do? Cut off the other's trade. Which side would suffer the more? What would be the effect of this great struggle on the United States? Both England and France were trying to interfere with American trade. Why would the United States want to trade with both countries? Both afforded desirable markets. The new nation had hundreds of vessels on the seas. What risks would these ships run? They were searched and pillaged in many cases. Scores of cargoes were lost each year. Why would England be more zealous than France to embarrass American trade? She was mistress of the seas and wished to keep America from trading with her enemy. Furthermore, on some of these captured ships, the English found British sailors. How do you account for this? What might England do? About one thousand sailors who had deserted to become Americans were impressed in the English service each year. How could the English defend such impressment? "Once an Englishman always an Englishman." Great Britain needed seamen. Some, however, had been naturalized by the United States. What should the United States do in all these cases? She protested against the search of American vessels. The British captured nine hundred and seventeen American vessels from 1803 to 1812 and impressed over four thousand sailors. (Hart, *Essentials*, p. 280); France captured five hundred and fifty-eight ships. Why did the United States feel more bitterly against England than France?



What did the United States do? She declared herself neutral. The profits of trade were such as to double the tonnage of American vessels sailing for foreign ports in those years. Neutrality did not protect American trade as well as it ought to have done. What could the United States do then?

The climax came in 1807. (Call for a report on the Chesapeake and the Leopard.) What do you think of the Leopard's action? What would happen if such an attack were made to-day? Why wouldn't the United States declare war at that time? She was not strong enough; Jefferson was opposed to war; it would cut off all her trade. Why couldn't she remain silent? What could the United States do? On December 22, 1807, Congress passed an Embargo Act, forbidding the sailing of American vessels for foreign ports. What would be the effect of such an act. What would the people do? Congress repealed the act.

In 1808 Madison, who was Jefferson's Secretary of State, was elected President by a large majority. What would this indicate? But he proved much weaker than his predecessors. How would this affect his chances in 1812? How could he assure himself of re-election? How could he assure himself of the support of the Western states? (Have a report on the defeat of General St. Clair and one on the victory of Anthony Wayne.) How do you account for these Indian disturbances? Often British guns were found in the possession of Indians. What would this lead the Americans to think? How might this suspicion be strengthened? The West brought about the Louisiana Purchase. Why might it now desire Canada?

The paramount issue in the elections of 1812 was England. The war party was in control of Congress. Madi-

son was re-elected. Why might he hesitate before entering into war? What might he do? Try diplomacy. England sent over mediocre statesmen as ambassadors. Why do you think she did this? She was indifferent to the relationship between herself and America. How would this affect the diplomacy between the two nations? It rendered it ineffective. Having failed in neutrality and diplomacy, the United States declared war.

Before we attempt to study this war, let us look at another side of our national development, and see how the growth of our industries affected us and our relations with England. How would the withdrawal of England in 1783 affect the industry of the United States? The colonies had been held in check. They had been forced to become dependent upon England. Trade with England had been easy and expedient. How would the Revolution affect it? How would the first Congress affect it? Where legislation had once dwarfed our industries, it now encouraged them. New industries sprang up. In what sense was the Revolution an industrial as well as a political struggle? What would be the effect of the withdrawal of English influence? Much the same as the loss of the middlemen in co-operative buying. The wealth thus gained helped to boom trade in America. Let us see what some of the industries were.

Ship-building was the first mechanical industry in the United States. (Wright's *Industrial Evolution*—United States, p. 42.) Why? Wood was the most abundant of the resources and the need of ships was great. How would this affect trade? Why was exporting necessary? Why was importing necessary? What would be the nature of the imports? Jewelry, silks, and commodities which required skilled workmanship. What would be the nature of the exports? Raw materials, such as pitch,

tar, and wood. Why would the industry of ship-building continue to grow? Trade would increase; the industry would continually improve.

American vessels were soon seen everywhere on the high seas. Why had the ship-building industry been so limited before 1796? What other wood industries would develop? Lumbering, shingle-making.

<i>Product</i>	<i>Amount exported in 1792</i>
Lumber.....	65,864,024 ft.
Shingles.....	80,813,357
Hoops.....	3,239,707

The sawmill was a common sight in the country. How would the immense supply of wood affect the housing problem? Houses were cheap. A workman's cottage could be made for seventy-five dollars; a good barn could be built for twenty-five dollars. Of course, some houses were expensive. John Hancock's house in Boston. Structures of brick and stone were rare.

While the first mechanical industries had to do with the productions of wood, what occupation do you think preceded them and remained the most important one in this period? Ninety-six per cent of the people were engaged in farming. Why would farming aid the country's prosperity? The extensive and rich farm lands produced more than the people needed. In 1792 almost seven hundred thousand barrels of flour were exported besides one million bushels of wheat. How does this compare with the present exportation? Each year thereafter, the quantity of exports increased. Why would European countries buy these? Less land and a larger population to feed on account of war. Tobacco and cotton were exported in ever-increasing quantities. In

what way did farming help the people of the United States? It kept them well fed; distributed them more evenly than the factories and the mills would. In 1790 ninety-six per cent of the people lived on farms; in 1810 ninety-three per cent.

In 1790 the center of population was about twenty-three miles east of Baltimore, thirty-nine degrees north. What is the center of population to-day? Why has it moved? What was the geographic center of the United States in 1790? What is it to-day? Center of Northern Kansas, about thirty-nine degrees. Why has it moved?

Aside from farming, what other industries were needed? The first Congress ordered a census to be taken in 1790 and every ten years thereafter. What facts does a census call for? Why do you think this was done? The census of 1810 showed the following totals of manufacturing in the United States:

By loom (cotton, wool, flax, hemp, silk) . . .	\$39,497,057
Tannery . . . . .	17,935,477
Liquor . . . . .	16,528,207
Iron Manufactures . . . . .	14,364,526
Carding of Cotton . . . . .	5,957,816
From Wood . . . . .	5,554,708
Hats . . . . .	4,323,744
Cables and Cordage . . . . .	4,243,168
Jewelry, etc. . . . .	2,483,913
By Hand (cotton, wool, flax, hemp, silk, etc.) . . . . .	2,052,120
Paper . . . . .	1,939,285
Soap, etc. . . . .	1,766,292
Sugar . . . . .	1,415,724
Tobacco . . . . .	1,260,378
Glass . . . . .	1,047,004
Lead . . . . .	325,560

Instruments and Machinery.....	186,650
Miscellaneous items.....	6,812,974
(Gallatin's Report to Congress, May, 1813)	
(See also "American State Papers," Finance, II, 425-31.)	

What is the most striking thing about these figures? Compare them with the manufactures of to-day. The manufactured products amounted to more than twenty billion dollars according to the census of 1910. What do they amount to at the present time? In more than thirty industries in 1910, each had a greater total than the entire amount given in Gallatin's report.

How do you think wages in those days compared with those of to-day? In 1790 the skilled laborer received sixty cents a day; in 1800, seventy cents; in 1810, one dollar and nine cents. What is it to-day? In the same years the unskilled laborer got forty-three cents, sixty-two and one-half cents, and eighty-two cents respectively. What does he get to-day? (Wright's *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 42.) What should be the deciding factor in determining the wage? The purchasing power of the dollar? What else does the worker desire besides increase in wages? Shorter hours. In the early days the worker's day was from sunrise to sunset. As time went on, the worker's day was defined in hours. How long ought a man to work? The factories at the beginning of the nineteenth century were poor places in which to live and work. Why would they be? How would such places affect the men? The nation? What would you consider an ideal factory? Little by little, the state insisted on better places for workers. Why is sanitation a problem of the state? In what other way could the state protect workers? Child-labor laws, etc. How far is your state living up to these?

After the release of English control, the United States entered upon a period of great prosperity. Why did this period of prosperity continue? A large territory—eight hundred and twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-four square miles in 1790. A rich territory—timber; fish; ores; fertile, virgin soil; transportation facilities. A population of three million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand two hundred and fourteen in 1790; five million three hundred and eight thousand four hundred and eighty-three in 1800; and seven million two hundred and thirty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-one in 1810. The people were adventurous, bold, hardy, enthusiastic,—in short, youthful. Why would the population increase so rapidly? Large families were the rule; the call for labor attracted foreigners—two hundred and fifty thousand immigrated to the United States from 1790 to 1810. How does that compare with the flow of immigration to-day? According to population it was greater then. How would this immigration help industry? Supply workmen. Bring over new methods of production. The Scotch-Irish of New Hampshire introduced the manufacture of linen. (Have a report on Samuel Slater, called by President Jackson, "The father of American industry." *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, pp. 125-128.) He learned the machine trade in England and came to the United States in 1789. How could men like him help industry? He built a cotton spindle with his own hands. Other mechanics followed with other devices. How would the American ideal of freedom and encouragement aid in this prosperity?

What reasons have you for thinking that this period of prosperity would continue? Let us see how it was interrupted.

## PART IV

*The War of 1812*

We have already said that President Madison was led to adopt a war policy against England in 1812. What would this war tend to do? It attracted the attention of the world to the United States. Let us see how it did this.

What were the real reasons for declaring war? (Read Henry Clay's *Justification of the War*—Hart's *American History*, vol. III.) To what extent were these causes adequate? What other circumstances influenced the declaration of war? The war Congress. The truth is, as one writer has expressed it, "Our struggle was between French duplicity and English stubbornness." What did he mean? Why, then, did not the United States declare war on France? There was more feeling against England. She had done the most harm in deed if not in principle. Canada was a temptation.

Let us see who was better prepared for this struggle. America was unprepared. There was little money in the Treasury. Why? Customs were falling off; direct taxes met with too much opposition; in 1811 the national bank failed to get another charter. Unity was lacking. Why would New England oppose the war? What kind of army did America have? Little outside of the state militias. What kind of navy did she have? Very few men-of-war. England was already at war and was, therefore, prepared for fighting. She was mistress of the sea. What advantage did the United States have to counteract her lack of preparation? Distance from England. Large extent of territory. Many trained seamen.

What would England try to do? Blockade the coast;



attack coast towns; invade from Canada; attack the lower Mississippi. What would the United States try to do? Make hasty preparations to withstand England. Attempt to injure English trade. Carry the war into English territory. How could the United States do this? Advance on Canada.

Why did the Americans want to capture Canada? Territorial expansion was still a popular ambition. It would end English rule in North America. Why would it seem to be an easy task? Clay said: "We will negotiate peace at Quebec or Halifax." Where do you think the attacks would be made?

In 1813 English ships blockaded the coast from Rhode Island to New Orleans. Why was New England left alone? England wanted it to secede and come over to her side. Why did England make such a plan? (Call for a report on the Hartford Convention.) What was its purpose? By 1814 the blockade was extended to Maine. What made the British extend the blockade? What could the British do then? They advanced toward Washington and sacked it. What do you think of such an act? Baltimore was attacked but the British were repulsed. How did the "Star Spangled Banner" come to be written?

Let us see how Great Britain failed to live up to her title, mistress of the sea. How did the two navies compare with each other in 1812? How did the United States augment her naval forces? The United States commissioned privateers since it had only a very small navy. England had the largest navy in the world. In three years these American privateers took twenty-three hundred British merchant ships and two hundred cruisers. The London Times said of the American ships: "If they fight they are sure to win; if

they fly they are sure to escape." In that time the United States lost seventeen hundred ships. What do you think of the system of privateering? How does it differ from piracy? (See Wilson and Tucker, p. 265.) When was privateering declared to be abolished? Declaration of Paris, 1856, Art. 1. What countries of the world agreed to it? All the leading nations of the world, with the exception of the United States, Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, and China. When did the United States announce its adherence to the principles of the Declaration of Paris? Proclamation of April 26, 1898. What other country announced its adherence to this principle during the same year? Spain.

Neither side was gaining unquestioned success on land or sea. What would they have to do? How could they begin to make peace? Send envoys from both warring nations to meet at some neutral place. Ghent was selected. What kind of men would the United States and England send? Trustworthy men. What questions would they have to decide? Why were these questions not decided before the war? What would settle these questions after the war? Compare the causes of the war with the articles of peace. (See text.) How do you explain this difference? Why were the causes of the war not mentioned? How did the city of Ghent regard this Treaty? What celebration was planned in 1914 by the United States, Great Britain, and the city of Ghent? Why was it not held? (See One Hundred Years of Peace with Great Britain, Fannie Fern Andrews, published in Memorial Day Annual, Wisconsin State Dept. of Public Instruction, 1915.)

Read in the text how Jackson won a battle after the war was over. Why was it possible for such a thing to happen?

What benefits did the United States get by the war? (See the text.) Rights of neutral trade; credit abroad; national outlook toward the West; full commercial independence. How many of these benefits would have come to the United States had there been no war? In what way was the war harmful? Loss of five thousand men, exclusive of those who died at sea, of whom there were many; eighty-two million dollars, according to increase in public debt; suspended business; bad feeling between sections of the United States.

Note the boundary between the United States and Canada. A border line of three thousand eight hundred and forty miles without a fortress or war vessel. How do you account for this fact? (See Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817.)

## (2) INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION, 1814-1860

ELMORE CURT WALTHER

### *The Problem*

What were the conditions at the close of the War of 1812 and what were the industrial consequences of these?

In order to solve this problem, we must answer the following questions:

- I. What conditions brought forth a demand for manufacturing in the United States?
- II. In what way would the manufacturing industries respond to these conditions?
- III. How were the old industries of commerce and agriculture affected by the new industry?
- IV. What conditions did this result in and what political and social changes were necessary?
- V. What dangers threatened the industrial prosperity of the United States during this period and how were they overcome?

### *Bibliography*

The following books must be available for use by both student and teacher. References in these books can be read aloud by one of the pupils to the class.

K. Coman,	Industrial History of the United States.
Bogart,	Economic History of the United States.
Elson,	History of the United States.

The following books are valuable but not necessary:

Ellis,	History of Our Country.
Halsey,	Great Epochs in American History.
Webster,	General History of Commerce.
C. Day,	A History of Commerce.

I. What conditions brought forth a demand for manufacturing in the United States?

1. Why should foreign commerce be such an important industry in the United States previous to 1812?

(Bogart, pp. 142-3.)

2. In what way did the decrees of Jefferson and Madison injure the American people?

How did the merchant, planter, ship-owner, etc., actually suffer?

What was the moral effect of evading the law?

What determination was expressed in the "Force Act" of 1833, giving the President the right to use the army and navy to collect duties in South Carolina?

3. In the face of such conditions how could we set about becoming commercially independent of Great Britain?

Begin to manufacture the abundant raw materials at home.

To what extent can one country become independent of another?

Name some of the ways in which this interdependence affected the World War

and its settlement. (Call for a brief report of some of the facts.)

4. What new industries would this encourage?  
(Bogart, p. 143.)
5. Suggest some schemes by which manufacture could be encouraged.  
Societies, prizes for essays, favorable laws.  
Illustrate how each method was employed.
6. What part does money play in industrial prosperity?  
Consider financial crises, "Wildcat Banks," national bank.  
(Coman, pp. 193-4.)
7. Would you have voted for a national bank if you had been a manufacturer during this period?  
(Coman, pp. 194-5.)
8. Would the establishment of a national bank have resulted in equal gain to all industries?  
(Coman, p. 194.)  
Commerce was benefited by uniform currency.  
Agriculture and manufacturing experienced some difficulty owing to the more conservative policy of the national bank.
9. Would the benefits enjoyed by the manufacturing industries through the patent laws extend to the other industries? Show how.  
(Coman, p. 147.)
10. Would territorial expansion favor industrial expansion? Prove your answer from the following diagram.

Make and fill out the following tables:

(1)

HOME CONDITIONS	
<i>Favoring Expansion</i>	<i>Opposing Expansion</i>
Lack of opportunity Loss of social standing Low wages	Dangers to be encountered Lack of comforts Friendship ties
Add as many more as you can.	

(2)

EQUIPMENT OF SETTLERS	
<i>Article</i>	<i>Industry Represented</i>
Axe Guns Clothing Cattle	Iron Firearms Textile Stock-rearing
Make as complete as possible.	

(3)

DEVELOPING THE LAND	
<i>Articles that can be manufactured at home</i>	<i>Articles that must be imported</i>
Simple iron ware Homespun Rough lumber	Fine tools Finer cloths Ammunition
Add as many more as you can.	

From these tables show in what two ways manufacture was expanded.

1. Rise of small local industries.

2. Development of larger centralized industries in the East.

Show the resulting benefits to commerce and agriculture.

Make a chronological list of the states that were admitted to the Union up to 1840.

To what extent was industrial expansion responsible for this?

11. Summary: Show how the war for commercial independence was especially disastrous for England.

Make a list from memory of the conditions that created a demand for manufacturing in the United States. Supplement from the text and your notes.

- II. In what way did the industries respond to these conditions?

1. Make a list of some of the manufactured articles that were imported from England.

Cotton cloth  
Woolen cloth  
Hardware  
Rope  
Glass

Boots and shoes  
Hats  
Carpets  
Paper

2. Consider the raw materials of the United States and tell which of these could be manufactured at home.

(Bogart, p. 165.)

(A) The cotton industry.

3. Show how the inventions of Arkwright and



Slater contributed to making the United States independent of England.

4. In 1814 the power-loom was introduced by Lowell. How would this assist the cotton industry?

(Coman, p. 180; Bogart, p. 147.)

Report: Cotton weaving and spinning in the early nineteenth century.

(Compile from the text, Coman, Bogart.)

5. From the figures given below determine:  
 (a) The growth of the cotton industry.  
 (b) Whether the cotton states would regard this new industry favorably or not.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of mills</i>	<i>Number of spindles</i>
1803	4	?
1808	15	8,000
1811		80,000
1815		500,000

#### AMOUNT OF DOMESTIC COTTON CONSUMED

<i>Year</i>	<i>Bales</i>
1800	500
1805	1,000
1810	10,000
1815	90,000

#### VALUE OF COTTON MANUFACTURES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Value</i>
1810	\$4,000,000
1815	19,000,000

#### NUMBER OF PEOPLE ENGAGED

<i>Year</i>	<i>People</i>	<i>Total salaries</i>
1811	4,000	\$15,000,000
1815	76,000	

6. What advantages would the New England mills enjoy that could not be shared by their English competitors?

Consider:

Raw material.

Quality of the labor.

Water power.

(Coman, p. 226.)

7. What two advantages did the Southern planter have that enabled him to keep pace with the increasing demand?

Cotton-Gin.

Cheap slave labor.

8. How would these conditions foster territorial expansion?

Increase in the cotton-producing area.

(B) The woolen industry.

9. What advantages did the cotton industry enjoy that the woolen industry could not share?

Large supply of raw material.

(Bogart, p. 234.)

10. How would you set about solving this problem?

Live sheep must be introduced.

Merino societies formed.

Report: The introduction of merino sheep.

11. What effect would this have on sheep industry?

In 1811 Merino wool brought \$.75 per lb.

In 1813 Merino wool brought \$2. to \$3.  
per lb.

12. How would the increased sheep-raising develop the need for improving the quality of wool?

(a) Suggest means for encouraging improvement in the quality of the raw wool.

Essays, prizes, fairs.

13. In what way would the interests of the wool grower interfere with those of the cloth weaver?

(Bogart, pp. 150 and 163.)

14. Why should the woolen industry be naturally localized in the northern part of the United States?

The more rigorous climate makes heavier wool.

Greater demand for woolen cloths.

Labor and power available.

(Bogart, pp. 150 and 163; Coman, p. 227.)

15. Do our present laws favor the cloth weaver or the wool grower?

Report: The early woolen industry of the United States.

(C) The iron industry.

16. What advantages did the American iron smelter have over its English rival before the introduction of soft coal?

(Bogart, p. 150.)

17. What changes must the American smelter institute as a result of the discovery of the use of soft coal?

Imports of British soft coal.

Seeking of American deposits of soft coal.

Anthracite coal was already discovered, but its possibilities not known.

18. To what experiments would the cutting off of the English soft coal supply lead?

To find a substitute.

19. In what way did the use of anthracite coal supply a long-felt want?

(Bogart, pp. 151 and 165.)

20. Show by figures that this was the case.  
(Coman, p. 184.)
21. Which state would you expect to have the largest share in the iron industry and why?  
Pennsylvania, with her large deposits of iron and anthracite coal.
22. What advantages were derived from the discovery of the "hot blast" and the use of steam blowing power?  
(Bogart, p. 164.)
23. What utensils made of iron would be manufactured as a result of the boom in this industry?  
Cheap machinery, stoves, etc.  
Report: The introduction of the iron stove.
24. How did the iron industry assist the inventive activity of the early nineteenth century?  
Reduction of price and abundance of iron opened up countless new possibilities for use.  
(D) Other industries.
25. Of what value was the invention of the sewing-machine to the shoe industry? The clothing industry? The consumer?  
(Coman, p. 227.)
26. What reasons can you give for the fact that the inventive activity of the early nineteenth century was in the direction of labor-saving machinery?  
(Bogart, pp. 158 and 240.)
27. "The yearly number of patents is an index of progress." If this statement is true, during what decade (up to 1860) was the greatest progress made?  
(Coman, p. 227).

28. Six-sevenths of the total manufactures of the United States up to 1860 were centralized in but fifteen states. What does this show as to the industrial prosperity of the various states?

(Bogart, p. 161.)

29. Make a list of other industries that were started during this period.

(Coman, p. 186; Bogart, p. 166.)

30. Summary: Use the list made in the previous summary and show how the various states responded to these conditions.

How far was the War of 1812 responsible for the development of these conditions?

III. How were the other industries of commerce and agriculture affected by this new industry?

(A) Agriculture.

1. How would the increase in population and immigration affect agriculture?

Greater demand for products.

Immigrants are usually an agricultural people.

(Bogart, pp. 170-171, 241.)

2. Show how this would lead to a corresponding increase in the manufacturing industries.

(Coman, p. 243; Bogart, p. 232.)

3. Was the introduction of the iron plow a good or bad thing for agriculture? Explain.

(Bogart, p. 241; Coman, p. 243.)

4. Make a list of other farm machinery that would increase the agricultural output.

(Bogart, pp. 239-241.)

Report: The history of the plow.

(Encyclopedia)

Report: How the reaper was evolved.

(See E. W. Bryn, *Progress of Invention in the Tenth Century.*)

(Show pictures of early inventions and modern machines. Catalogs of farm machinery are generally rich in such material.)

5. What differences were there in the agricultural methods of the northern and southern sections of the United States?  
(Coman, pp. 244-5; Bogart, pp. 234, 240, 245, 256.)
6. Which of the three sections would encourage manufacture the most, North, South, West? How would the other sections assist?
7. What region would give the greater stimulus to:
  - (a) Foreign commerce?
  - (b) Domestic commerce?(Bogart, pp. 183, 199, 245, 246, 256.)
8. Enumerate the steps by which other industries would be encouraged by the demand for farm machinery?
9. What changes did the following inventions make in agricultural production?
  - (a) The cotton "gin," (b) power-loom, (c) iron plow, (d) reaper, (e) blast-furnace.
10. Why would the close of the war for commercial independence result in a wave of agricultural prosperity?
11. What effect would immigration have

upon agriculture? commerce? manufacture?

12. How would the stock-raising industry be influenced by these conditions?

(Bogart, pp. 143, 233, 234, 242, 243.)

(B) Commerce.

1. How would our commercial relations be likely to suffer from the War of 1812?

(Bogart, pp. 203, 208; Coman, p. 229.)

2. What cities in the United States would suffer the most?

(Coman, p. 217.)

3. What requirements must the American shippers meet in order to outstrip their English competitors?

(Bogart, pp. 204-5; Coman, p. 230.)

4. Show how the following events stimulated American commerce:

1840      British-China War.

1848      Revolution in Europe.

1853-6    Crimean War.

1857      Rebellion in India.

Immigration.

(Bogart, p. 206; Coman, p. 230.)

To what extent would the results be of any permanent benefit to American industry?

5. In 1830, England opened the West Indies and Turkey the Black Sea to American shipping. What reasons can you suggest for this?

The young American nation was held in contempt by the foreign "powers."

This was shown time and again by laws discriminating against American commerce. As we began to justify our existence in an economic way, the European powers began to realize our national significance and saw fit to recognize our commercial interests. What advantage was this to themselves?

Report: The American clipper traffic.  
(Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era*.)

6. How would the introduction of steam navigation threaten our "clipper" industry?

(Coman, p. 230; Bogart, p. 206.)

7. In what way could the advantages of the American "clipper" be nullified by legislation?

(Coman, pp. 230-232; Bogart, p. 206.)

Report: The development of the steamship.

(Bogart, p. 207.)

8. What does the introduction of the bonded warehouse and other commercial devices between 1840-50 show as to the condition of manufacturing during that period?

(Bogart, p. 167.)

9. What would be the industrial consequences of a law forbidding foreign vessels to engage in domestic commerce?

(Bogart, p. 209.)

10. Why ought the coasting trade in the new continent to be very profitable?



The great length of coast line possessed by the American continents stretches through all the climatic belts of the world. This afforded opportunity for making many stops en route with profitable change of cargo.

(Coman, pp. 230-23.)

11. Would the initiation of manufacturing in the United States tend to stimulate foreign or domestic commerce?

Local market; internal improvements; tariff.

12. What would be the commercial and industrial significance of the distribution of population?

(Bogart, p. 175.)

13. Which is more fair to the people of the United States, to have the states or the nation finance internal improvements? What are the disadvantages of either method?

(Bogart, pp. 188-193.)

14. Describe the different means of transportation used to satisfy domestic commercial enterprise and show to what extent they were permanent.

(Bogart, pp. 177, 178, 181, 182.)

15. In what way could the patent law tend to retard the commercial development of the country?

(Bogart, p. 175.)

16. In 1835 the national debt was paid and the revenue amounted to twice the government expense. Suggest a way to use this surplus to good purpose.

17. What reasons can you give for the canal supplanting the turnpike? Would this always be the case?  
(Bogart, pp. 178, 187, 193, 233.)
18. Which would favor the concentration of population more, the canal or the turnpike? What is the value of this in manufacturing?
19. What is the natural outlet of the great lakes? Is this outlet favorable to commerce?
20. What physical features made the building of the Erie Canal possible? What advantages would such a canal possess?
21. What effect would the canal have on the districts through which it passed?  
(Coman, p. 233.)
22. What cities would be benefited the most? Why?  
New York and Buffalo—terminal cities.
23. What is the relation between canal and river traffic?  
(Bogart, p. 175.)
24. Exercise: On an outline map of the United States show the area of commercial control of the Erie Canal:  
(a) In 1825, (b) in 1835, (c) in 1845, (d) in 1855.  
Account for the changes in area.  
(Coman, p. 234; Bogart, p. 193.)
25. To what region in the United States would commercial development be confined and why?  
(Coman, p. 238; Bogart, p. 178.)

26. To what states would this improvement of inland commerce be offensive and why?

Report: The era of canal building.

(Halsey, vol. V, pp. 161-172; vol. VI, p. 17.)

27. How would the introduction of the steam railroad interfere with the building of canals in the United States?

28. In what way would the development of commerce and agriculture go hand in hand with the improvement of the railway?

(Bogart, pp. 198-9, 210.)

29. Why can the period between 1814 and 1840 be called the "era of invention?"

How about 1840 to 1860?

(Bogart, p. 215.)

30. Show that the invention of the telegraph was of primary importance to the development of the railroad.

(Bogart, p. 212; Coman, p. 241.)

31. To what extent would commerce and manufacture be influenced by the discovery of the mineral resources of the United States?

Summary:

32. Of the three stages of transportation, which is at the head to-day? Will this always be the case? What particular sections of the country were especially favored by each stage?

(Bogart, pp. 186-7.)

33. What facts show that commerce, agri-

culture, and manufacture are intimately linked? Is this more or less true to-day?

34. Was there ever any country as large as the United States that held together in spite of poor means of communication?

35. Would manufacture play any part in sectional divergence? Under what conditions would commerce tend to counteract this? Promote it?

(Bogart, p. 189.)

36. What disastrous results would a war between 1814 and 1834 have occasioned?

37. Compare the length of time it took this country to gain the degree of independence which we had attained, (a) political, (b) commercial, (c) economic. Explain.

(a) To what extent are we really independent in these respects?

(b) What part should the United States play in the interdependence of nations?

Report on our relation to other nations at the present time.

IV. What conditions did the rise of the manufacturing industry cause and what political, social, and economic changes were necessary?

(A) Tariff.

1. What two alternatives did the English manufacturer have as a result of the decrees of Jefferson and Madison?

(a) He could continue to manufacture for a period of peace.

(b) He could lay off his help.

2. When peace was established what would the manufacturer do with his goods?

He would immediately ship out the pent-up products for sale.

Report on the effect of the revival of European industries after the World War upon our own industries.

3. On what terms must he be prepared to sell?

(a) Low prices.

(b) Easy payments.

4. How would this injure our infant factories?

5. Suggest a means for remedying this.

Protective tariff of 1818.

(Bogart, p. 152.)

6. What financial conditions after 1812 would make a revenue acceptable?

War debt.

7. Under what conditions would the agricultural states favor such a measure?

Upon condition that factories would locate within their boundaries.

(Coman, p. 188.)

8. What adjustments would the tariff be subject to?

It would be raised and lowered as the prosperity of the country fluctuated.

When would it be raised?

9. Was the general policy of the government one of free trade or protection, from 1814 to 1860? (Work from the index of your text.)

10. What effect would a protective tariff have on the prosperity of the country?  
(Coman, p. 222.)
11. In what way did the Walker tariff (1846) try to cover these points? Could a better scheme have been devised? How far-reaching were the results of this tariff act?  
(Coman, pp. 222, 223, 224.)
12. To what extent was the tariff of 1857 based upon the Walker tariff. What industries would be benefited by this tariff and why?  
(Coman, pp. 225-6.)
13. Would territorial expansion favor an upward or downward tendency of the tariff? Explain.  
Territorial expansion would result in increased demand for manufactured articles and, when the home industries could no longer adequately supply these, the foreign-trade barriers must be removed. Was this the case from 1818 to 1860?
14. Were all the sections of the United States affected equally by the Mexican War? Make a list of the states that would be injured the most.

(B) The new labor class.

1. What new class of people would spring up as a result of the manufacturing industries?
2. What are the qualifications of such a class of people as compared with the agricultural industry?

A class with special skills who feel a certain security and contentment in doing the same work over and over from day to day.

3. What is the difference between the working man and the wage-earner? How would their positions differ previous to 1840, and after that time?

Small industries previous to 1840. Working man in this period was in most cases the proprietor of the shop and worked side by side with his hired men, or apprentices. After 1840 these conditions began to change and with the perfection of the factory system the workman was reduced to a wage-earner while another class of people took over the enterprise of business.

4. What new conditions must be instituted in order to develop a class of skilled and intelligent workmen?

Lien law, schools, etc.

5. What old conditions must be remedied as a result of the rights of labor?

(Bogart, p. 254.)

6. Explain why such a class could not easily exist in the Southern states?

Free labor could not compete with slave labor.

7. Show how slavery formed a barrier to immigration in the South.

8. How would you account for the South's changing attitude on the question of protective tariff?

(Bogart, pp. 172-3.)



9. What would be the attitude of the manufacturer toward the increased immigration into the Northern states? Of the laborer?

(Coman, p. 213.)

10. What problems did Robert Owen try to solve and how lasting were the results? What was the real cause of failure? In what way are the "Shakers" similarly organized? Explain their success.

(Bogart, p. 255.)

11. To what extent would the laboring classes favor slavery?

Workers in cotton mills depended on employment which was determined by a cheap and plentiful supply of raw cotton.

(C) The factory system.

1. What change would the introduction of power machinery make in manufacturing?

Machinery too expensive for personal ownership and too large to be installed in the home.

2. Which would be the more productive of industrial efficiency, the factory or the domestic system?
3. What changes would the factory system demand?

Skilled management, definite wages, definite hours, specialization, machinery, and production for general demand.

4. How would you account for the fact that the early factories employed very largely women and children? What is the present attitude in this respect? Account for this.

The men worked at their "trade."

5. How would you account for the difference in results in England and the United States after the institution of the factory system?

(Coman, pp. 180-185.)

6. In what sections of the country would you find conditions favorable to the institution of the factory system?

7. How would the factory system affect the growth of cities?

(Bogart, p. 256.)

8. Show that these factors are important to-day.

9. In what way would commercial expansion favor the growth of large cities?

Improved means of transportation permitted the concentration of population in large cities. The work of providing these cities with raw materials, food, and clothing became an extensive branch of commerce. Extensive Western markets formed an outlet for the manufactured products. Thus the commercial expansion through the ease of transportation made the development of the large city possible.

10. What advantages would the people of large cities enjoy that could not be shared by the rural population?

Better schools and more opportunities for entertainment; more comforts and conveniences for life and happiness; shorter hours and lighter work; and a greater range for the exercise of talent.

11. How would the growth of cities favor industrial expansion?

Afforded greater supply of labor, and a larger immediate local market, etc.

12. How would the improvement of the factory system tend to crowd out the small industry?

13. What part would the factory system play in the great increase in national wealth?

(D) National character.

1. What does the fact that "there were few rich men and almost no poverty" tell us about the condition of the country at this time?

(Elson, p. 479; Bogart, pp. 179, 260; Coman, p. 212.)

2. Why would you expect a great wave of national feeling to result from a condition of industrial prosperity?

In 1834 the value of manufactures was \$325,000,000 and the imports were \$50,000,000.

3. How would these conditions tend to change the character of the people?

No longer hero-worship, but thoughts of national greatness.

4. It was during this period that the cartoons of "Uncle Sam" were originated.

What national characteristics were shown or reflected in this type of man?

5. How are these conditions reflected in the Monroe Doctrine?
6. What conditions would give rise to such a doctrine?
7. What influence would the following conditions have on the development of national character of the people of the United States?

(a) The acquisition of Oregon, Texas, California.

(b) The discovery of gold in California.

(c) The squatter method of settlement.

8. How would the free Western land prevent pauperism in the densely populated states?

(Bogart, p. 170.)

9. How would the extensive immigration tend to change the national character of the people?

(E) Political reorganization.

1. Why would the change in economic conditions demand a change in political parties?

New classes, problems, issues, etc.

2. What improvements made the national conventions possible? Were they desirable? Why?

Means of transportation and communication. Platforms and issues

more under the direct control of the people.

3. How would the question of ship subsidy tend to divide the country sectionally as well as politically?

Manufacture confined in the North. Steamship lines left Northern ports. The South would receive little benefit for what it would give in support of this measure.

4. Are these conditions fair? How could they be changed? Who would suffer the most from such conditions? Could the states have subsidized steamship lines?

(Coman, p. 232. Constitution, Art. I, sec. 10.)

5. Make a list of the political parties that appeared between 1814 and 1860. Which of these are represented to-day? What conditions did each try to remedy?

6. What part would the great tracts of public land play in the political crises of this period?

It held the sections and parties together as it gave an opportunity for each to recruit strength.

(F) Home life.

1. What changes would the "era of invention" bring about in the home life of the

(a) Farmer? (b) merchant? (c) working man?

2. Make a list of articles that were invented at this period that helped make home life more comfortable.
3. What influence would the increasing immigration have on the home life of the farmer? manufacturer? merchant? working man?

(Bogart, p. 190.)

4. What differences would you expect to find in the home life of the Far West? Middle West? East? and South?

(Bogart, p. 190.)

5. What differences would you expect to find in the home life in the city as compared with that in the country?

Report: The home life in the early nineteenth century.

Suggestion: There are in the older sections of large cities many houses that were built during this period. A visit to this section of the town could be made profitable by studying the different styles of architecture of the buildings erected during this period. Compare with modern homes in regard to conveniences, decoration, etc.

(Report to be compiled from text.)

(G) School life.

1. Read Irving's Legend of Sleepy Hollow and compare the method of support of the schools of that period with that of to-day. Why the change?
2. What further changes in the school system would be demanded by the growing working class?

Wide-spread opportunities for education. Public expense of education.

3. How could the territorial expansion help solve this problem?
4. What other means could be employed to finance the schools?

School tax.

(H) Letters and art.

1. Explain how the great political issues would provoke literary inspiration. Give examples of such instances.

Whittier, Webster, Stowe, etc.

2. To what extent would letters and art be involved in the general prosperity of the country?

(See Elson.)

3. Make a list of the great American authors and the dates at which their works were produced. Account for the difference in character of the works produced previous to 1820 and those produced after 1850.

4. Summary:

Why can the early part of this period be called the "Golden Age"?

Why was this a period of industrial unrest?

In what way would the great social and industrial revolution extend to religion?

Rise of sects, Mormons.

What opportunities for employment presented themselves to the working man during this period?



· · · Make a list of the factors that caused industrial progress.

Growth of population.

Increase in immigration.

Internal improvement.

Abrogation of English Corn Laws.

Discovery of gold in California.

Taking up of Western lands.

Application of machinery to industrial processes.

The period between 1808 and 1840 is called the period of the industrial revolution in the United States, while that from 1840 to 1860 is called the period of expansion. Account for the difference.

V. What dangers threatened the industrial prosperity of the country and how were they overcome?

1. Dangers arising from dispute.

(A) Boundaries.

(1) What portions of the United States at this period would be subject to dispute? (Use map in text.)

(2) Of what importance are good and definite political boundaries?

(3) By what means could the neighboring countries hamper our industrial expansion?

By encouraging Indian raids in the earlier days and by trying to prevent our expanding to the Pacific.

(4) What great lesson can we learn from the Webster Ashburton Treaty?

- (5) Why would the Canadian boundary beyond the Great Lakes be especially subject to dispute?
- (6) Suggest a means for settling this dispute.
- (7) The second Seminole war cost the United States in money alone thirty million dollars. What was gained by this expenditure?
- (8) How could the United States put a stop to the outrages along the Southern boundary at that time? What similar problem confronts our country very often in recent times?
  1. Conquest.
  2. Purchase.
- (9) What advantages would the second method have over the first?
- (10) What problems would confront the United States in dealing with the Indians?
- (11) How would the annexation of Texas cause trouble with Mexico?
- (12) What sections of the country could hope to gain by such expansion? Would the advantages extend to other parts of the country?
- (13) Could the troubles that caused the Mexican War have been settled peacefully?
- (14) Why was the method of acquiring Texas and New Mexico extravagant?

The territory was first conquered and then paid for.
- (15) Would the American industrial regions suffer much from the Mexican War?

Remember the war was carried on in Mexican territory.

- (16) On an outline map of the United States color the territory acquired by peaceful means one color and that acquired by conquest another. Which method of expansion predominates?
- (17) What effect did our method of territorial expansion have on our industrial prosperity?

(B) Political.

- (1) What portions of the country would be most attractive to the foreign immigrant from 1840 to 1860?
- (2) How would the tremendous increase in population in several states be reflected in congress?

Bigger representation; more votes and larger control.

- (3) What attitude would the immigrant take toward slavery?

They came over to seek work and could not compete with slave labor.

- (4) How could the slave states check unfavorable legislation in Congress?

By controlling the Senate.

- (5) How, then, would you account for the fact that the old slave states tried to extend their territory?
- (6) Why would this be opposed by the free states?
- (7) Under what conditions would a state enjoy the most advantages, slave or free?

- (8) What troubles would arise when new states applied for admission into the Union?
- (9) Suggest a way to settle the difficulty.  
Mutual gain.
- (10) Did the Missouri Compromise assist or retard industrial expansion?
- (11) What economic reasons made high tariff unpopular in the Southern states?  
They imported most of their manufactured articles from England and manufactured little at home.
- (12) What policy was encouraged by South Carolina in regard to the tariff question?  
(Charleston was the most important port in the South at that time.)
- (13) Suggest a plan for settling this dispute in a peaceful way. The part played by Gen. Winfield Scott is important.  
(Great Epochs, vol. VI, pp. 20-29.)
- (14) What section of the country would be most interested in urging the struggle with Mexico? What industrial causes were behind this?  
Extension of cotton culture.
- (15) What new political disputes would the acquisition of territory after the Mexican War arouse? Was the plan of Henry Clay fair to all? Would it permanently solve the problem?
- (16) How would the business men of the country view Clay's plan?  
A safe middle course.

## 2. Financial Panics.

- (1) How could you explain the financial crisis of 1818?

Effect of war.

- (2) Why would not the government's solution of the problem be a permanent one?

(Bogart, p. 239.)

- (3) Would you say that President Jackson's attitude toward the national bank was fair or unfair?

- (4) In what way would the canal and railroad craze injure the financial balance of the country?

Speculation, doubtful enterprises, too much money invested.

Explain fixed capital.

- (5) Explain the statement, "Jackson sowed the wind and Van Buren reaped the whirlwind."

- (6) In what ways do industries suffer from money panics?

- (7) Make a list of the financial panics of the country and state briefly the causes of each.

How many were due to overspeculation?

How many were due to industrial stagnation following periods of warfare?

- (8) Which of these panics hindered industrial development the most?

- (9) What good results could spring from panics?

Put a stop to speculation and initiation of doubtful enterprises.

- (10) What effect does the Federal Reserve Bank

seem likely to have on financial stringency? If a simple and clear report upon this were possible, it would have great value.

*General Summary.*

1. Make a chronological table of the important inventions brought forth between 1808 and 1860 and show their (a) economic results, (b) political results, and (c) account for the grouping.
2. In 1824, Marquis de La Fayette visited this country for the first time since the Revolution; what changes would he observe?

(Great Epochs, vol. V, pp. 80 and 92.)

3. Show by means of curves the per-capita production, from 1810 to 1860, for the following articles: wheat, corn, cattle, swine, sugar, cotton.
4. What physical conditions are necessary to the growth of cotton? Show on an outline map of the United States the regions where these conditions are to be found. Point out the relation in regard to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War.
5. Draw on an outline map the routes followed by the railroads that were built during this period. (Use different colors for the roads constructed for each decade to 1860.) During which decade was railroad building most extensive? Note the predominance of east-west lines over north-south lines. Effect of the same? Account for this.
6. Draw the curve of the increase in population for Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, for the years 1800 to 1860. Account for the peculiarities of the curves.

On an outline map shade the areas controlled by the Erie Canal and the Mississippi River (*i. e.* com-

mercial control). What is the present value of our canals? Future value?

7. Locate on an outline map the cities (over eight thousand) that sprang up from 1810 to 1860. Account for the distribution.
8. Make a graph showing the foreign immigration from 1820 to 1860. Show also the curve for the increase in urban population for the same time. What relation can you point out?
9. The striking characteristic of this period was sectional divergence. What economic causes underlie this? How long could such a state of affairs continue? What would be the natural result of such a state of affairs?
10. Make a condensed list of all the facts that caused industrial progress from 1810 to 1860. Which of these are still active in our present industrial progress?

*Note to teacher:* No attempt has been or should be made to cover all the facts and incidents of this period in this manner. Only such facts are used as give insight into the industrial forces of that time. The text and reference books are merely a means to an end. They must be regarded as the "tools" of the student and must be available to supply the facts when the information is desired. Lively discussions should be encouraged and conclusions should be checked up by frequent reference to the authorities or the books at hand. Conclusions should be carefully recorded.

### (3) SLAVERY AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1860-1865

FREDRIC P. WOELLNER

#### PART I

#### *How Slavery Began in the United States and Why It Grew*

Where have you ever heard of any one owning slaves outside the United States? (Assignments can be made a few days before this question is asked. Hagar and Ishmael—Genesis 16 and 17. The Story of Joseph—Genesis 37, 38, 39. The Slavery of a Race—Daniel and Jeremiah. A justification of slavery—Leviticus 25, 44-45.) How far does each story justify slavery? How did Joseph become a slave? What does this story show about slavery in those days? How did the whole race of Jews come to be slaves in Egypt? In Babylonia? How did the slavery in Egypt differ from that in Babylonia? What effect did it have on their industries? On their abilities?

What was the fate of Troy when taken by the Greeks? What aid did the Trojans, as slaves, give the Greeks? As Troy fell before Greece, so Greece fell before Rome. How did the Greek slaves affect the Romans? They taught them the arts of their civilization. What seems to have determined the condition of slavery? What is the difference between this method and the law, "Might makes right," of the jungle? What would be the ultimate result of such policy?



What does the story of Pope Gregory and the "Angel Slaves" in the slave market of Rome show us about England? Who were the slaves in the feudal system? What was the difference between serf, fief-lord, villein, vassal, lord? In later days, how were the hired servant by contract, the redemptioners, the indentured servants all phases of slavery? (Cheney's History of England, chaps. XVIII and XIX.)

In what sense were the serfs of Russia slaves? The native tribes of Africa enslave one another. How are they able to do this? Why do they do it?

What have you heard about slavery in the United States? What difference do you see between this form of slavery as found in the United States and that in the cases mentioned above? In the United States the slaves were all of one race and restricted to one part of the country.

How did slavery begin in the United States? (See text.) What right would that Dutch captain insist upon to justify him in selling those slaves? He got them by hard labor; the law allowed it; he could sell or keep them as he chose. How could one man so enslave another? The negroes were a weaker and less intelligent race. What justification has slavery, as offered by the above? "Might makes right." Why do you not agree with that? Lincoln said: "If A can prove, however conclusively, that he may of right enslave B, why may not B snatch the same argument and prove equally that he may enslave A? You say A is white and B is black. It is color, then; the lighter having the right to enslave the darker? Take care. By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with a fairer skin than your own. You do not mean color exactly? You mean the whites are intellectually the superiors of the blacks, and therefore have

the right to enslave them? Take care again. By this rule you are to be slave to the first man you meet with an intellect superior to your own. But, you say, it is a question of interest, and if you make it your interest you have the right to enslave another. Very well. And if he can make it his interest he has the right to enslave you." (See 1, *The American Nation, A History*, edited by A. B. Hart, vol. 1831-1841; 2, *Lincoln's Works*, vol. I, p. 178.)

Why did not the slavery of the negroes exist in the North as it did in the South? Compare the land of the two sections. What kind of farms would be found in New England? Why? They would be small. The Labrador current and the distance from the equator made the summers too short for extensive farming. How would all this make the negro slave not very useful? These small holdings called for men that could take the responsibility to maintain them. The cost of supervising labor would be too great. Individual ownership of farms and self-government became the rule. So the negro, like the Indian before him, could not be profitably employed on these farms.

What was New England's chief industry? Why would the negro slave be a poor factory hand? Manufacture demands skill and the negroes were too ignorant to make it profitable to train them. Manufacturing demands a greater persistence and progressive spirit than the negro possessed. What effect would the climate have on keeping slaves in the North? It would cost more to house and to clothe them. So, then, slavery quickly died out in New England. How would this fact influence the rest of the North? As the North developed westward, the tradition of the free-worker followed. The beginnings of the various threads of history are often found

in economic conditions, while their development is affected by tradition in as large a measure as by economics. So it was with the "free-labor" of the North and, in a larger measure, with the slaves of the South. (Hart, *American Nation*, vol. *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 49.)

Now let us see why the South favored slavery. Study the four areas of the South from the map.

1. The rich river bottoms and the coast.
2. The uplands; so-called black belt, because of the color of the soil and the greater part of the population.
3. The sand-hills.
4. The mountains.

(See Hart, *The Southern South*, chap. II, *The Southland*; Ingle, *The Southern Side Lights*.)

What would each section be suited for? Compare each section with New England. The fertile areas of the South covered thousands of acres in one unbroken lowland. Why would size be a large factor in agriculture? Unscientific farming demands an ever-increasing land area. It was the custom of the South to work a part of a plantation at a time, so as to prevent going over the whole area each year. This was supposed to keep up the fertility. What are the disadvantages of such farming? Can you suggest a better method? Rotation of crops; fertilization; irrigation; reclamation. As time went on, how would the price of land be affected? Why would it increase? The supply was limited and the demand increased. Why would the supply decrease? The worn-out land would not be in demand. By 1850, the land in the South gradually fell to \$5.34 an acre on the average, whereas it rose to \$28.07 in the North. To what extent was the South treating its resources as it was the negro?

Why was cotton raised so abundantly on these extensive

lands? Why was there such a great demand? For what purposes do we use cotton? The very length of the list indicates the demand. How many of these products could be made of wool? Why was wool not produced in the South? As time went on, how would the demand for cotton be affected? From 1820-1830, eight hundred and fifty thousand tons of cotton were raised annually. From 1830-1840, one million three hundred thousand tons were raised annually. How would this increase in production affect the cost? All else remaining the same, an increase in supply would bring a decrease in cost. But from 1820 to 1830 cotton brought about ten cents; from 1830 to 1840 it averaged twelve cents per pound. The maximum price before the World War was seventeen cents. Compare with the price of cotton to-day.

Where could the growers find a market for so much cotton? England and New England. What could they do with it? Why did not the South manufacture its own raw material into finished products? It did so in a small measure. What would have been the result if the South had used all her own resources? The present activity in this field precludes the idea that there were no proper manufacturing conditions at that time. Why did not Birmingham, which is to-day called the Pittsburgh of the South, begin to grow in 1830? The slavery system and the lack of enterprise forbade it. It is a remarkable fact, which lacks adequate explanation, that the South did not fall in line with the world-wide movement of manufacturing. (Hart's *American Nation*, vol. 1831-1841, p. 61.) So, then, we have "King Cotton" crowned by divine right—a soil and climate suitable to it.

The slavery system was best employed in the cotton industry. Why? In the first place cotton demands attention all the year round. From seedtime in May to

the last picking in the fall, the growing cotton needs attention. From fall to May, the gin and the press, baling and shipment, keep the men busy. Steady employment was as essential to a slave owner as it was to a free workman. In the second place, the cotton industry can utilize all the forms of labor. Ignorant and intelligent, old and young, male and female; all could find occupation in this field. Why was this a big factor?

The slaves were not all employed in this industry. In what other ways might they have been employed? Other work around the plantation, *i. e.*, domestic service. Outside of the black belt and the coastal islands, cotton was not the leading product. Rice, corn, and tobacco were raised in abundance. Where would rice be raised? Why? In 1850, one hundred and twenty-five thousand negroes were employed in the rice-fields of the coast. What part of the South was suited to corn-raising? Great quantities of corn were imported. Pork and hominy was the diet of the slave and the poor white. Where would tobacco be raised? Tobacco is too hard on the soil for extensive raising. After the Revolution, not much was raised outside of Virginia, Kentucky, and Maryland. In these states and Missouri and Delaware (all of which constituted what was known in 1860 as the border states) there were slightly over seven hundred and seventy-seven thousand slaves in 1850, and three hundred and fifty thousand of these were employed in raising tobacco. Hemp and sugar gave employment to about two hundred thousand slaves in the entire South.

What kind of labor would all this farming demand? A great number of cheap laborers, who had more physical strength than mental development. The supply of negroes was constant, but the demand was ever increasing. How would this affect the price of slaves? Steadily up-

ward. In 1798, the average slave cost \$200.00; in 1822, they were \$300.00; in 1830, \$600.00; in 1840, \$1,000.00. In 1850, at Savannah, a woman was sold for \$1,200.00 and a man for \$1,300.00. It is reported that on one occasion, two girls and a baby brought \$3,565.00. (Chambers' *American Slavery and Color*, p. 207.) With the price of slaves increasing and the land becoming more and more scarce, what would be the effect? Slavery became less and less remunerative. Why, then, was slavery continued? Hart maintains that the whole system had become traditional. Economic conditions had initiated and largely influenced the slave traffic, but tradition perpetuated it long after it had ceased to become very profitable. Slavery never was the most profitable system of labor. As time went on it became less and less profitable. How would this affect the South? It would tend to make it conservative. The South of 1860 was much the same as the South of 1830.

How would such conservatism affect society? It would develop into a caste system. How could you classify the white people of the South? Slaveholders and non-slaveholders. There were two distinct groups of slaveholders—rich and poor. Where would you find the rich holders? In the rich lowlands. What objections were there to living there? These lands were extremely unhealthful. What might the owners do? They went away on business and for pleasure. The children were sent away to be educated. How would the slaves be managed in the absence of the owners? How might the owner and the overseer differ in their treatment of the slave? Which place would be better for a laborer—a small or large plantation? About three hundred and fifty thousand families owned slaves. The Abolitionists often pointed out that there were only three hundred and fifty



thousand slaveholders in the entire population of the South, which was twelve million five hundred thousand in 1860. This made only one man in thirty-five a slaveholder. How could the slaveholder meet this argument of the Abolitionist? Only the head of the family was counted a slave owner. How about including the members of his family in estimating the number of slaveholders? Samuel Houston of Virginia was the richest slaveholder, possessing seventeen thousand slaves and controlling one thousand more. (Chambers' *American Slaves and Color*, p. 194.)

Seventy-seven thousand owned but one slave; two hundred and twenty thousand owned from two to ten; forty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-five owned from ten to one hundred slaves; twenty-three hundred owned one hundred or more. How would the small holder differ from the large holder? What group of men would find one slave enough?

There were two groups of non-slaveholders; the mountain whites and the so-called lowland whites. Which group would affect the South more? The negroes characterized them as the "Po white trash." They were for the most part the descendants of the poor Englishmen who had come to the South, years before, to escape debt or prison. What would be the difference between them and the negro slaves? How could a slaveholder use these whites? As overseers when the master was away and as slave-drivers when he was at home. Sometimes it happened that a thrifty low white would rise above his caste and become a slaveholder. Jackson, Johnson, and Lincoln arose from the poor class to the presidency. (For special study, look up a few noteworthy communities of the poor whites, *i. e.*, Piney-woods people of Mississippi; Crackers of Georgia; Clay-eaters of South Carolina; Sand-hillers of North

Carolina. Olmstead, 413-416 and 514.) Why would the mountain whites not affect the problem of the South? They were so remote from the actual life of the South that they had little influence. How did they come to inhabit these places? Why did they stay there? At the end of the eighteenth century the Scotch-Irish immigrants, who settled in Pennsylvania, gradually pushed their way over the mountains into Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Carolina, and the northern part of Alabama and Georgia. There they remain to this day, isolated and secluded. They hated the slaveholder as well as the slave.

How might the negro population have been classified? The free and the enslaved. How might a negro obtain his freedom? He might get money by working in the time assigned for his own use and buy his freedom. He might be set free by his master at any time. He might run away and settle elsewhere. What danger always awaited a free negro? What could he do? The constant fear of going back to slavery through kidnapping, or even being sold for the payment of a court fine, drove many of these free negroes North. If he escaped all this, what still hindered him? Prejudice. What would be the differences between a free negro and a slave? What would be the differences between a slave on a small farm and one on a large plantation? Why would the overseer be forced to be more severe than the owner? The overseer was interested primarily in getting big returns. The owner, through long association, came to feel responsible for his slaves and their welfare, so usually he was disposed to treat them as human beings and be lenient toward them.



## PART II

*How the Growth of Slavery Was Opposed*

The first negro was sold in Virginia in 1619 and in a few years the practice of buying Africans extended to every colony. Owing to the peculiar conditions of the Southern colonies, however, slavery became identified with that section of the country alone. When the Constitution was adopted (1789), the seven states north of the Mason and Dixon line were free; the six states south, were slave. What would this lead to? An arbitrary line invites separation. What could the Southerners say in favor of slavery? All the arguments advanced in its favor might be summed up under five heads. In the first place, slavery was traceable to the very beginnings of society. Second, the scriptures condoned it. Most of the discussion on slavery centered about this point. Third, the character of the negro tended to justify slavery. Measured by what he was, rather than what he might develop into, the negro was inferior to the white man. How does the history of the two races support this statement? Fourth, social dignity demanded the maintenance of the caste system. "An Englishman would receive a Southern gentleman more cordially than one from the North." (Kemble's *Georgian Plantation*, p. 305.) How would you explain this? Fifth, the safety of the whites demanded the continuance of slavery. What might be the danger of liberating all the negroes at once? A negro insurrection in Haiti brought destruction and death to many of the whites of the island. What would be the effect of such news upon the minds of the Southerners? In many places the negroes outnumbered the whites. The dangers of giving them freedom were obvious. Calhoun in

1837 made this last argument the real defence of the institution of slavery.

What argument against slavery might the Northerners use? The higher principles of life forbade it. There is an innate feeling in the heart of man, call it mercy, justice, love, or what not, that is opposed to slavery. Richard Baxter in his *Christian Directory* says, "It's the worst kind of thievery in the world." What did he mean? How is the practice of slavery inconsistent with the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence? How could you reconcile the principles of justice and the principles of slavery? The Virginia Declaration of Rights maintains, "All men are by nature free and independent." Why should they be?

So each side advanced arguments to support its position. What do you think would be the effect of such discussion? Bitter feeling. To what ought such discussion to lead? Enlightenment. What is the effect of such feeling? It tended to separate the North and the South. What would tend to keep the North and the South from separation? Perhaps the Constitution. What does the Constitution say on this subject? Perhaps tradition. Both sides had fought for the establishment of the Union. Perhaps policy. What are the advantages of the Union of States? How would disunion affect commerce? education? progress? Perhaps national defence. What opportunities would disunion offer to other nations? Perhaps physical unity. What are the natural divisions of the land occupied by the two sections? Lincoln based his optimistic prophecy of the ultimate end of this sectional dispute upon the physical unity of the United States. So the states were kept together for some time, in spite of much ill feeling. Disruption of the Union was never popular.

What, then, would each side do? Let us first look at the South. While the discussion went on, the South held to slavery, and attempted to expand the system as far as possible. What would facilitate such expansion? The methods of agriculture; the increasing population; the inviting lands to the West; the desire to hold its own with the North.

The North would attempt to keep slavery out of its bounds and to carry out that policy in the lands of the West. What would facilitate expansion? A growing population, immigration as well as an internal increase added thousands yearly. Between 1840 and 1850 a large per cent of the Northerners went to the West. Why? Why would immigrants go to the North rather than to the South? The free laborer could not compete with the slave. The Northern climate suited the immigrants better. In those years the immigrants came from northern Europe. The cities of the North offered unlimited opportunities. The wealth of the West was well known. The periodic industrial crises in the East, financial stresses, labor troubles, and panics drove men to places where they might have a better chance to make a living.

So long as the North kept slavery out of its limits and the South carried on slavery within its limits, all went well as far as the two sections themselves were concerned. But westward expansion brought about an insistent question—shall slavery be extended into the new Western territories? Besides the arguments given above, this question led to six well-known climaxes, each of which was a blow upon the wedge (slavery) that slowly, but surely, drove the two sections apart. Let us take them in the order of their importance. (Divide the class into six groups and let each group investigate one climax—how it helped to separate the two sections.)

I. *The Ordinance of 1787.* Let us see how this Ordinance helped to divide the North and the South.

How did the Ordinance affect the slavery question? Here is the exact passage that directly affects it. "Slavery, or involuntary servitude, in the said Northern territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly tried and convicted, is prohibited." What states comprise the "said territory"? (Look at the map.) Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Observe the position of the Ohio River. Why should Congress make such a ruling concerning this territory only? It ought to be remembered that the early grants were from sea to sea. How might Congress use this land? Much of it was given to the soldiers of the Revolution in payment for their services. What assumption can you make from this Ordinance concerning the territory south of the Ohio? It was only logical to assume that the Southwest territory would permit slavery. What did this Ordinance make of the Ohio River? It made the Ohio the continuation of the Mason and Dixon line. Together they became the dividing line between slave and free territory. Thus the country was divided sharply into two sections. What would be the effect of making so sharp a line? It would tend to invite separation between the two sections. Why did Congress indicate this line? To settle possible disputes.

II. *The Missouri Compromise.* Let us see how the Missouri Compromise helped to separate the North and the South.

How many senators go to Washington from each state? What do you think of the justice of this? By this plan, the South could have as much power in the Senate as the North had, although its wealth and population was far less.

How would this system affect Congress in its attitude toward slavery? As long as there were as many free states as slave states, the Senate would be equally divided on the question. How would that affect their action? Legislation on the slavery question would be blocked. How could the South continue its power in Congress? Allow no more states to enter the Union, and so keep the balance of power as it was, or they could insist on the admission of a slave state when the North admitted a free one. Which would be the better plan? The second was the more feasible, and was therefore followed. How would the Ordinance of 1787 affect the situation? By 1812, Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), Ohio (1803), Tennessee and Louisiana (1812), came into the Union.

How would the slavery question stand in Congress at the opening of the War of 1812? The Senate was evenly divided on it; there were nine free and nine slave states. The House favored the Northern view. Why? The Presidents had a slight leaning toward the South. Why? They were in the main Southern men. Pro-slavery ideas dominated the Supreme Court. How could such power in the Senate be used? To check legislation. What would be the effect of the War of 1812 on the question? After the war the country assumed its normal growth and soon more states were seeking admission.

At the close of the War of 1812, Indiana sought admission into the Union. When could Indiana gain admission? As soon as the South had a state to enter the Union with her. So in 1816 Indiana came in and in 1817 Mississippi. How did that affect the balance in the Senate? How could this balance be upset? As long as this balance could be maintained in the Senate, nothing positive could be done against slavery. Illinois (1818) balanced Alabama (1819). What would be the effect of such a check-

and-balance policy? It would tend to aggravate conditions and so create ill feeling. An enterprising territory would not care to be held off from enjoying the full rights of statehood by such arbitrary action. By 1820 all the available land east of the Mississippi River had been formed into states or territories. What question would now arise? How would the land west of the Mississippi be divided? Which section would move into that territory quickest? Why? By 1820 Congress was asked to make a territory of what is now Arkansas, and asked to admit Missouri as a slave state. Is Missouri a Northern or Southern state?

What do you think Congress ought to have done? It ought to have ascertained what the qualifications of statehood demanded and then see if Missouri fulfilled those qualifications. How would the House act? Why? The comparatively thickly settled North gave the anti-slavery feeling a distinct advantage here. How would the Senate act? It couldn't break the deadlock. What would be the effect of such action? Much discussion between the two factions. How would you have attempted to break it? At this time, Maine, which had been a part of Massachusetts, obtained permission to frame a constitution of its own, and to prepare for statehood. When all was ready, she asked for admittance into the Union. The House now refused to let Maine and Missouri come in together. Why would the House refuse? Here was an opportunity to break the deadlock in the Senate.

What might Congress do? Admit both states and prohibit slavery in the territory north of 36 degrees 30'; except Missouri. In effect it was like this: We will let Missouri in as a slave state, if you promise to keep slavery out of the rest of the Louisiana Purchase, north of Mis-



souri. This was called the Missouri Compromise and was initiated by Henry Clay of Kentucky. Why would a man from Kentucky be a good compromiser on the slavery question? What do you think of his compromise? How was the power in the Senate now divided on this question? 12 against 12. By 1821 there were twelve free and twelve slave states, and no more states were admitted for sixteen years.

In what way was the Missouri Compromise like the Ordinance of 1787?

III. *The tariff question.* Let us see how the tariff affected the slavery question.

The Missouri Compromise seemed to have settled the slavery question in such a way that for years no other crisis was reached. Slavery was discussed in these years, as affecting something or being affected by something in our national life, but never of itself. It had ceased to be a paramount issue. What might make it again a paramount question? What do you understand by tariff? How might a tariff benefit one section and hurt another?

In 1828 Congress framed a new tariff and the schedule on cotton was higher than that of the previous one. How would that affect the North? The Southern planter would receive less for his product in Europe than in New England. The New Englander could get all the cotton he wanted at his own price. How would that affect the South? The South would feel that the North had forced the sale of cotton at a low price. What would have determined your vote on the tariff at this time? What happens to a Congressman who votes contrary to the wishes of his district? What do you think of this system? What could the South do after the new tariff became effective? South Carolina vetoed it. What would be the result if a state had the power to veto acts of Con-

gress? "The measure of the veto is the measure of the strength of him who wields it."

In 1830 Hayne led the argument for the South and Webster for the North. (Read a few passages from Hayne's speech.) How would Webster reply to Hayne? (Read a few passages from his reply.) How might Hayne answer this? Where is the sovereign power in the United States—in Congress or in the individual states? Which did Hayne defend? Webster? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each system? In these debates Webster proved the more powerful. Many men believe he postponed the Civil War for twenty years. But whether he won or not, Congress did not accept the thesis of Hayne. (*Little Masterpieces*, Perry, vol. Daniel Webster; *Eloquent Sons of the South*, vol. II, Hayne's speech; vol. I, Calhoun, p. 177.)

What could South Carolina do now? She made every preparation to withdraw from the Union. What could Congress do? President Jackson at a dinner about this time gave the following toast: "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved." What does this statement indicate? In 1833 Congress passed a Force Act, which provided for the necessary authority to keep a state in the Union. At the same time, the tariff was modified. However, the peace so established was short-lived. Congress was again disturbed over the old question of state rights, now assuming this form: What is the Constitution—a mere compact between states or a powerful bond between states, uniting them into one nation? How would Webster answer this question? How would the average man of to-day answer it? Calhoun resigned his office as Vice-President and took Hayne's seat in Congress in order to support the South. What would Calhoun's arguments be? This argument of the federation of states versus



the confederation of states finds many parallelisms in history. Why did Germany and Italy become World-Powers? Why was Greece most powerful when the Athenian league was established? What special application has the old proverb—"In union there is strength"? How might this principle of the federation of states be applied to the whole world? In what way is the League of Nations plan an application of this principle? How are all nations normally united? Commerce, science, social intercourse, etc. How are all men being united into one world union? Religion (brotherhood), the common elements of life. "Misery and love make all men akin." (Buddha.)

IV. *The abolition movement.* Let us see how the abolition movement tended to separate the North and the South.

Slavery always had its opponents. The Quakers never tolerated it. Washington, in his will, freed the two hundred and fifty negroes who had worked his ten thousand acres. Jefferson provided a plan for the gradual emancipation of slavery which failed of adoption by only one vote. Here and there, throughout the colonies, and later in the new republic, voices were raised against the practice of enslaving negroes.

How could this opposition make itself felt? By organizing a society that would unite the individual efforts of those who were opposed to slavery. On April 14, 1775, the first anti-slavery society was formed in Philadelphia. The organization grew rapidly. Soon there were branches in every town and city in the North. Gradually all were united into one national organization. What do you think would be the aim of such an organization? Abolish or restrict slavery. Which is better—to change a system gradually or suddenly? The hope was entertained

that slavery, restricted to a few Southern states, would naturally die out.

In spite of this sentiment the institution of slavery became stronger year by year. What could the anti-slavery men do? Make a stronger effort to restrict it? What might prevent such a policy? So much was occupying the attention of the people that the slavery question was not uppermost. Indeed the anti-slavery sentiment that had been engendered for a time was slowly dying out. By 1828, slavery as a national question was completely dropped. While Jackson entered his office with slavery a dead issue, he left it the paramount issue of the day.

Why did the slavery question suddenly rise again? The world had evolved to a stage where slavery was out of harmony with the thought of the times. Serfdom was slowly dying out in Europe. Great Britain had abolished slavery in all her domains and colonial possessions in 1807. By 1848 all Europe, save Spain, had followed England's example. In 1821 Bolivar emancipated his slaves, and in consequence the abolition movement began in South America. Our country was sufficiently "fixed" in its growth to turn its attention to internal questions. A new generation had risen that would make itself felt.

As slavery had been abolished in the rest of the civilized world, many men began to advocate its abolition in the United States. What would such men need most? Public support. How could they get it? Educate the people to their ideal; develop a public opinion against slavery. Public opinion is the ruling power in America. How do you think public opinion could be developed against slavery? In January, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison published a newspaper called the *Liberator*. In an editorial

he said, "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population—I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice on this subject—I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not retreat a single inch, and *I will be heard.*" What kind of man does such a statement lead you to believe he was? Why didn't the others talk like that? What would be the effect of such a statement? It would tend to alienate many from the movement he advocated. It would intensify existing conditions.

(Have a report on Garrison's life.) How did he come to start his paper? What made him so intense? What training did he have? What events of his life showed his extreme character? He was the founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society and was its president until his death.

Garrison appealed to men of strong feeling. How could the more intellectual men of the day be won over to his support? Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, the New England poets, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, all wrote against slavery. (Let various members of the class report upon what they wrote.) Through these reports and selected readings, it will be seen that public opinion was educated in many different ways. What would be the effect of such public opinion? Each man would have to make up his mind on which side he stood. What would be the effect of such decided feeling? Sharp lines were drawn everywhere. Year by year they became stronger. Some churches strongly condemned slavery. Some split into a Northern and a Southern section on the slavery issue. Everywhere in the North the abolitionist cry went up—free the negro.

How could they gain freedom for the negro? Perhaps

by inciting the negroes to insurrection. Here and there uprisings occurred, but they were put down with such severity that they never became general. (Look up Nat Turner's Rebellion.) What do you think of this method of obtaining freedom? Argue this question from the point of view of the negro, following his own initiative, and of the Northerners inciting and aiding him. Perhaps they would try to help the negro to escape to the North. How could you justify such action? It is estimated that a thousand escaped each year. (Hart, *Essen.*, p. 230.) (Have reports on the Underground Rail Road, by Still or Siebert. *Reminiscences*, by Coffin.) How would the negro look upon such an institution? How would the Southerners try to prevent this? Another plan was to deport the negroes. In 1816 the "American Society for the Colonization of the Free People of Color" was formed. Henry Clay was its first president. Why would he be a good man to lead such a movement? This was the compromise position on the question and so commanded the adherence of most men at one time or another. What would prevent this society from succeeding in its plans? In ten years (1820-1830) only eleven hundred and sixty-two slaves were taken away to other lands at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars.

Thus from 1830 to 1860, there was a constant and ever-increasing agitation against the Southern planters' system of agriculture. What would be the result of such agitation? The actual results were: Drastic fugitive laws resulting from the loss of slaves in the South. The area of slave states doubled in that time. The number of slaves rose from two to four millions. The feeling against slavery was organized into a powerful unit.

V. *The Texas question.* Let us see how the Texas question tended to separate the North and the South.

In 1821 Mexico rebelled against the authority of Spain and became an independent republic. What people would occupy the northern part? Mexicans and Americans. Which do you think would be in the majority? Why? The Americans, because the system of agriculture in the South drove Americans to the new lands and this land was nearest; Northerners were pushing everywhere. In 1820 Moses Austin of Connecticut planted a colony there. What on the map indicates the location of that colony? Austin. What would he do there? What would be the effect of such occupation? The difference in habits, pursuits, religion, and tradition would lead the people of northern Mexico to quarrel with those in the South. Eventually the North rebelled and formed an independent republic. Under Samuel Houston, Texas thrived for some time. What do you think the new republic would want to do? Come into the Union as a state. What question would her admittance raise? Was she to come in free or slave? This question was complicated by the fact that Mexico had abolished slavery before Texas had declared its independence.

Texas wanted to enter as a slave state. What could Congress do? What state could come in with her? There was none and so Texas had to wait. What would Texas do in the meantime? Form an independent republic. From 1836 to 1844 she developed independently as the Lone Star State. In 1819 Florida was bought from Spain. How would this affect the problem? Two slave states waiting for admittance. Both were admitted checked by Iowa in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848. How many free and slave states did that make?

How would the entrance of Texas affect Mexico and the United States? Make them neighbors. What would that fact involve? The boundary would have to be de-

fined. What would be a reasonable boundary? The one Texas had before. Texas maintained that the Rio Grande was her southern limit and Mexico declared it to be the Neuces River. How could they settle the matter? By war, the United States adopted the view of Texas and sent troops into the disputed territory. Mexico considered this an invasion. War was declared. By what arguments would the United States justify this action? How would Mexico justify hers? Which do you think had the better arguments? Has a government the right to enter disputed territory? What difference would it have made had Mexico been of equal or greater strength than the United States? Where would Mexico focus its strength? At the capital. How would the Americans plan to capture it? Taylor marched from the North and Scott from the East. In less than two years the country was subdued. The poorly organized forces of Mexico proved no match for the Americans. The first shot was fired May 11, 1846, and peace was made July 4, 1848.

(Read Whittier's Buena Vista and Lowell's Bigelow Papers.) How did the North view the war? Why? What would be the effect of such a war? How much territory was added to the United States? All territory north of the Rio Grande, including all of California and New Mexico, in return for which Mexico received fifteen million dollars, and the United States assumed her debts to American citizens. How much money would it take to buy that land to-day? What was the cost of this war with Mexico? The pay for less than one hundred thousand soldiers and the cost of war material totaled one hundred million dollars. Some pensions are still being paid. How much of this is total loss? Fourteen thousand men were killed on the American side. How would this war affect the question of slavery? Strong objection from the



North and another wedge was driven between the North and the South.

VI. *The California Compromise.* Let us see how the development of a new state tended to increase the difficulty.

The white man had pushed his way across the continent until the Pacific was reached. The coast was dotted with frontier cabins and everything pointed to a gradual development of the West. In one of these frontier settlements near the Pacific Coast, a certain settler had built a mill. . . . (Finish the story of Marshall's discovery at Sutter's Mill.) What would be the effect of such a discovery? What kind of people would it attract? What would be the drawbacks for such adventure? The almost trackless Western prairies, the Rockies and the Indians did not check these bold spirits. By 1849, twenty months after the discovery of gold, the territory now included in California had relatively a large population. What would the people do? Prepare for statehood. Why would this be especially urgent in this case? The mixed population and the peculiar conditions that accompanied its occupation gave rise to much lawlessness. In February, 1850, a petition was presented to Congress, begging statehood for California. What question would that petition raise in Congress? Why would California naturally wish to come in as a free state? How could the South counteract the influence of California if it came in? (Look at the map.) Long debates followed and nothing definite was done. How could they settle the question? A committee was appointed. Six men were named to represent the South and six the North. What would the committee need? A seventh member. Henry Clay was selected. Why would he be the natural choice? What do you think he would do? Try to present some

plan that would satisfy both sides. What plan did he present? (See text.) How would this solution affect the Missouri Compromise? Abrogate it. What would be the attitude of the North on this decision? The South? Both sections were dissatisfied. Another wedge was driven between the North and the South.

We have seen how the differences between the North and the South had led to six crises, each of which drove the two sections farther apart. Four new strokes, in rapid succession, brought about complete separation. *Kansas Nebraska Affair*. (See text.) How would this affect the Missouri Compromise? How would it affect the territories? Give them a power that they would acquire when they became states. Why was it useless to place limitations on an incoming state? How could the state evade the limitation that had been put upon it as a territory? (See the case of Oklahoma and Taft's veto.) Why can a state be granted more power than a territory? To what might such power lead? When the time came for voting upon the question of slavery in Kansas, seventeen hundred pro-slavery men crossed the border, thus adding their strength to those already there. As only twenty-nine hundred votes were cast, the pro-slavery men won the day. What could the Kansas people do? (See the texts.)

*The Lincoln-Douglas Debate*. (See Rhodes, History of the United States, vol. II, pp. 314-338.) What would Douglas have to prove? The validity of the doctrine of popular sovereignty. How could Lincoln upset it? He said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." "In the right to eat bread without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and equal of Judge Douglas and



the equal of any living man." How would the people receive such words? What would be the effect of such debating?

*How John Brown helped to separate the two sections.* (Call for a report on John Brown in Virginia. Read also, Whittier's Brown of Ossawatimie and Steadman's How Old John Brown took Harper's Ferry.) What was John Brown's plan? Why did it fail? (See text.) Could such action be justified? What would be the effect of such a raid? Widen the breach between the North and the South.

*How the Dred Scott Decision extended slavery to every state.* What was this decision? Do you think it a just one? What may have influenced the Supreme Court in making its decision? What effect would it have on the previous provisions? How would it affect the North? It made slavery lawful in every state. The South had realized its ultimate aim. Feeling was intensified.

*Summary of Part I and Part II.* What was the first intention of the anti-slavery movement? How was this gradually changed? At first the anti-slavery sentiment of the United States desired no more than to restrict slavery to a limited domain in the South, where, it was hoped, it would die a natural death. The expansion of the slave traffic in that original portion of the South, however, and at the same time, the spread of slavery westward, especially in an epoch of the world's history in which slavery was being condemned, stirred the Northerners to bitter action against the whole institution. The two sections could not agree. The more they argued, the more extensive the slave traffic became, until it spread all over the Union. The question now arose—shall slavery dominate America? The question was given form at last. It could not be dodged. It had become the

paramount issue of the day and every man was forced to take one side or the other. The wedges had done their work. The country was severed in twain.

### PART III

#### *How the Differences Between the North and the South Were Settled*

Slavery had become the dominant factor. What could the people do? Make a new political party that would declare itself definitely on the subject. Who would join this new party? Those who thought opposition to slavery was the nation's greatest concern. Those who were discontented with the party in power. Who do you think would be a good leader for such a party? The Republican National Convention met in Chicago in 1860 and nominated for President, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The convention then declared itself opposed to the extension of slavery in new states. (See texts for the candidates.) This is the way the vote was actually cast:

<i>Candidates</i>	<i>Electoral votes</i>	<i>Popular votes</i>
Lincoln.....	180	1,866,452
Douglas.....	12	1,376,957
Breckenridge.....	72	849,781
Bell.....	32	588,879
Total.....	296	4,682,069

What do you think is the most remarkable thing about these returns? How had the majority declared itself? Compare the Douglas and Breckenridge vote. In the light of these returns what might Lincoln do? Modify the policy he had promised. What should determine the

policy of a President—the campaign pledges or the will of the people as he sees it? Presidents have many times modified their views after election. To what do they expose themselves by doing so?

What had caused the excitement in this election? Slavery. What had held the country together? Religion, industry, tradition. What was driving the country toward separation? What did the people of the South do? Secession seemed to them the only logical way out of the trouble. The North had decided against the extension of slavery, but the South believed it was the deliberate purpose of the North to abolish it. How did they defend the policy of secession? Upon the principle of state rights. Which was the first in existence—the state or the nation? “The power that made can unmake.” What do you think of such a statement? What is the power of the Constitution? What effect would the “Force Act of 1833” have in this case? What should hold a country together? What might hold various sections together? What ought to hold them together? The country was too much of a physical unit to warrant separation. Union based on force or arbitrary rule could not last. Secession was the climax of a long period of gradual separation. On December 30, 1860, South Carolina declared herself a free and independent state.

What would be the first effect of such an action? The United States Government would have to apply force to make South Carolina remain in the Union, as Jackson did in 1832. Buchanan had said: “A state ought not to withdraw from the Union, but if it does, the nation cannot prevent it from so doing.” What do you think of such a statement? What is the difference between it and that made by Jackson in 1832? Why could Lincoln do nothing? His inauguration had not yet taken place. What

influence would the action of South Carolina have on the other states? What states would follow her example first? Why? What states would hesitate before making such a decision? The border states. Being so near Northern influence, they were not so enthusiastic about the question. There were many compromise schemes to preserve the Union, but all failed. The North and the South could not be brought together again. What could the border states do? Remain neutral; neither secede nor support the new President. Maryland declared herself neutral, but remained in the Union. The politicians of Kentucky favored secession, but just at this time a state election turned the secession party out of office. In Missouri, the secession party was beaten. So these two border states were kept in the Union. What would their citizens do? These states might split on the question as the nation had. The western counties of Virginia declared themselves loyal to the Union; the eastern counties withdrew. Why would these counties withdraw?

What do you think these seceding states might do? Each might remain an independent state. Where should the line be drawn to make political unity? They might all unite into one nation. How were they united already? Occupation, climate, soil, tradition—their very opposition to the North gave them a specific purpose for union. How could they bring about this new union? What difficulties would they face? Many men feared this radical step and had it not been for the activity of the politicians it might have failed.

At the invitation of the governor of Alabama, members from each state met at Montgomery. What would be their problems? 1. Make a constitution. What kind would they make? How would it differ from that of the United States? In regard to slavery and state sover-

eighty. A few other differences were made, for example, one term for the President to be six years. What do you think of such a policy? The two constitutions were remarkably similar save in these instances. 2. To select a capital. What would be a good place? Richmond, Virginia, was chosen. Why? 3. To elect or provide for the election of officers. What would guide their selection of their President and Vice-President? How would the selection of a man from a state which had not been anxious to unite with the Confederacy aid the cause? Jefferson Davis was made President and Alexander Stephens Vice-President. All these things were done with such expedition that by February, 1861, the seceding states had organized themselves into the Confederacy of the Southern States of America.

What would Lincoln do? Use force, if necessary, to preserve the Union. What can help you to foretell the outcome? The size of each section and the number of men of fighting age, the wealth of each section, the nature of each section for defense. Let us look at the facts.

	<i>North</i>	<i>South</i>
Population.....	19,000,000	12,000,000
Area of states.....	612,597	851,500
Area of territories.....	1,472,061	1,464,105

East Tennessee, West Virginia, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri were counted as slave territory in the above. Why? They were in the hands of Northern forces, however, before actual war was begun. If the territories in each section were included how would the figures be changed? It has been calculated that but nine million people lived in the section that was actively engaged in

the fight for the Confederacy. Of these, three million five hundred thousand were slaves and one hundred and forty thousand free negroes. How does this change the figures? Which side had the greater wealth? The per-capita wealth of the North was twice that of the South. Which side had the greater area? How would this affect the outlook?

Buchanan watched the formation of the Confederacy but did nothing. What might he have done? In all this time Lincoln did not say a word for or against the action of the South. What would this lead the people to think? What do you think of such a policy? When ought Lincoln to express himself? At his inauguration he expressed himself in detail. Here are some of the statements he made. "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists." "No state on its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union." "The Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states." "In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority." "The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government." What do these statements show us of Lincoln's plan? What do these statements tell us of Lincoln?

What was the South doing between the election of Lincoln and his inaugural? What was the North doing? Why was it so easy to secure possession of the forts and post-offices in the South?

Let us see how far the North proceeded to maintain the authority of the Union. On April 12, 1861, Fort Sumter was fired upon by order of the Governor of South



Carolina and surrendered two days later. What would be the effect of this on the North? Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve three months. What states would be subject to the call? What did the call indicate? What use would be made of these troops? What effect would this have on the border states? Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee passed ordinances of secession. Why? They believed that the central government did not have the right to force a sovereign state to remain in the Union.

How would all this affect England? Why would commercial and social England, in the main, favor the South? Why would the industrial classes, in the main, favor the North? How would this affect France? The Emperor of France took advantage of both sections and seized Mexico. By 1865 Maximilian had thoroughly established himself as Emperor of Mexico. Why would the rest of Europe take little active interest in the struggle?

After the fall of Sumter, what would the North have to do? Drill the volunteers into an army. Why would this be a difficult task? The volunteers were from every walk in life and few were used to war. What would the South have to do? What advantage did the South have in doing this? Each side was anxious to defend its own and attack the other's capital. (See text.) What did the first battle of the war indicate? Bull Run, July 21, 1861. The North was forced to realize the greatness of the task before her; the South was overconfident.

What would be the military problem of the North? Subdue the South completely and then reorganize the Union. How could the North do this? (Consult maps.) Note the territory of the Confederacy. What plans do you think the North might make? Cut off the trade of

the South by blockading the coast. Send armies into the South. Along what routes would these armies be sent? With what particular purposes? Capture Richmond and open the Mississippi.

How could the North blockade the coast? By decree and by vessels, stationed along the coast, to enforce the decree. What would be the effect of such a decree? Lincoln forbade intercourse with the South. What effect would this have? Aroused ill will abroad. The South laughed at it. What would be needed to carry out this plan? Light and swift vessels. Where would they be placed? How many would be needed? The number of harbors in the South is not great, but the United States did not have enough ships even for these. What could she do? Construct quickly and press into service as many merchant ships as possible. Why couldn't she buy the ships ready-made? There was not a stock on hand and besides the laws of neutrality forbade it. What could the South do? Evade the blockaders. Many did so. Destroy the blockaders. Two hundred and sixty ships, valued at twenty million dollars, were taken by the Confederacy on the open seas.

How would all this affect England? On May 13, 1861, Parliament declared England neutral between "the United States of America and certain states styling themselves as the Confederate States of America." What does this statement indicate as to England's view of the Confederacy? She recognized it as a nation. How would the North look upon such a statement? A government has a right to declare a blockade of the territory within its jurisdiction. England's act would be considered a denial of that right, in so far as it held the Confederacy a nation, instead of a part of a nation. How would the South look upon England's declaration? While the



North looked upon it as granting too much to the South, the South was displeased at obtaining so little.

How might such an attitude involve England in the struggle? England's policy toward the South seemed too weak. Upon what did the South base its hopes for more favor? England needed its cotton. What could the South do? Why was Franklin sent to France during the Revolution? The South decided to send two men, Mason and Slidell, to England, in order to entreat her to do something more for the South. How would they go? What do you think of the wisdom of this action? How do you think the two men would be received?

What could the North do about this? Mason and Slidell would have to go through the blockade and so might be stopped. On November 8, 1861, a Northern Captain, Wilkes, stopped the British steamship Trent carrying the two envoys, and transferred them to his boat, the San Jacinto. What would be the effect of such a seizure? The North would be gratified over the effectiveness of its blockade. The South would be disappointed. England might be offended. How was England's feeling in this case similar to that of the United States before 1812? What could England do? How could she do it? Lord Palmerston prepared a haughty dispatch to send to Lincoln, but Queen Victoria objected to such procedure. Why do you think she objected? She wanted England to assume a peaceful attitude toward the struggle in America. What would be the effect of such attitude in this case? It would be settled in a just way. How do you think Lincoln would act? Behind Lincoln, as behind the Queen, were many men, who demanded war between the United States and England. However, these two leaders carried their peaceful policy to a successful conclusion. Mason and Slidell were given up and sent on

their way to England, and the United States apologized for the occurrence. What would be the effect of such complications? It brought down much wrath upon Lincoln. It strained the relationship between the United States and England.

What would be the effect of the Trent Affair on other nations? Made foreign ships more careful in American waters. Why? They began to see the effectiveness of the blockade. How could the South counteract this? Destroy the blockade. Where would be a good place to begin? (Study the map of the Southern coast.) Norfolk is obviously the gateway of the South to foreign ports, so the South determined to break the blockade at this point. What kind of ships would be needed? How would such ships be made? A sunken ship, the Merrimac, was raised and converted into an iron-clad battering-ram. (Show a good picture of it.) How much of the old ship was used? Just the hull and the machinery. How does the top of it differ from an ordinary ship? No decks or rigging. The wood was covered. All ships were made of wood up to this time. It looked like a floating fort. What would be the advantage of such a ship over the others? Invulnerable. What disadvantage would she have? Slow and clumsy.

So the old Merrimac, renamed the Virginia, a slow but invulnerable iron-clad ram, sailed down the James River. What would the blockade runners do? The Congress and Cumberland met her in the river, March 8, 1862, and were quickly dispatched. What was the only chance of the North? Build a ship that would have a chance of overcoming her. This was nearly ready. How could they build a craft that would have the advantages of the Virginia but not its disadvantages? John Ericsson, an inventor in New York, had built such a ship. (Show a

picture of it.) In what way was it like the Virginia? Iron-clad and pointed hull. In what way was it unlike the Virginia? It was much smaller, speedier and had a peculiar top. Some men called it a "cheese box on a raft." On opposite sides of this "cheese box" were two cannons. Why do you think this arrangement was made? One cannon could be fired while the other was being loaded. Then the box could be revolved. You can imagine the surprise of the Confederates when they beheld this odd looking craft, the Monitor, sailing out on the morning of March 9 to oppose the Virginia which had been so successful the day before. What would you expect to see in the engagement of two ships like these? For five hours they poured shot into each other without much effect. Finally, the Virginia retired and never came out again. Eventually she was sunk in the harbor. Monitors were masters of the gateway of the South until the end of the war. A new epoch in the building of war vessels had begun.

What would be the effect of such a struggle as this? The blockade was made more effective than before. How could the North make the blockade even surer? In August Port Hatteras was captured, and in November, Hilton's Head. Why were these places desirable? Supply stations. By 1863, the blockade was almost complete from New York to New Orleans. Only occasionally would a ship succeed in breaking through. What would be the effect of such a blockade? The South was almost severed from Europe. As an example of its effectiveness, look at the cotton schedule of exportation:

1860.....	\$202,741,351
1861.....	42,000,000
1862.....	4,000,000

How did this change the problem of the South? The blockade forced the South to depend upon its own resources. New industries sprang up everywhere. How would they compare with those in the North? Far more simple. How would that affect the productivity? Less scientific.

We have seen how the North effectively blockaded the seaports of the South. What were the other problems of the North? Divide the Confederacy by getting control of the Mississippi. Let us see how the North gradually did this. (Look at the map.) What kind of territory is this? What is the character of the land? A vast area of one million square miles, with great highlands and wide lowlands; plains and hills; dry places and swamps; trackless forests and deserts; many streams. How is it cut off from the rest of the world? How joined to it? What avenues lead into it from the North? Waterways, the Mississippi especially. Railroads: a line from Louisville to Nashville and so to Chattanooga and Atlanta. Many branches going out from this. A natural expanse of land in Virginia east of the mountains led through the Shenandoah Valley, and so on to Richmond.

What kind of climate do we find in this great section? What kind of people inhabited it? Our previous study made it evident that they were homogeneous in race and occupation. Practically all were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Let us see first what happened in the eastern part of the country. The volunteers of the North were concentrated at the Potomac. What kind of men do you think they were? Raw recruits. What kind of army would they make? The rout and panic of the Northern army at Bull Run indicated its condition. What did they need? How would they get it? General McClellan, who had been so successful in West Virginia,

was put in general command of the Armies of the United States. He endeavored to train them in order to have an efficient army. Of course, this took time.

Where would they want to strike first? Richmond. They planned to attack Richmond from the east. What are the arguments for an attack from this direction? Richmond was not taken. Here is the result of one of many battles fought in the endeavor to take Richmond:

	<i>Dead</i>	<i>Wounded</i>	<i>Missing</i>
Union.....	1,734	8,062	875
Confederate.....	3,478	16,261	6,053
Total.....	5,212	24,323	6,928
Grand Total.....36,463			

What would be the size of a city that had 36,463 men of fighting age in it? How many cities of that size are there in the United States to-day? The United States is three times as large to-day as at that time. An economist has valued the worth of one man to his state at five thousand dollars. How much did the state lose in this way, in this campaign? In what other ways did it lose? In what ways would the armies engaged in this campaign be reduced in efficiency? In what ways raised?

What could the North do now? Revise its plans under new leaders. Halleck was put in general command on July 11, 1862, in McClellan's place, while Pope was given command of a new Army of Virginia independent of McClellan's Army of the Potomac. A call for more men was made. New plans were devised for taking Richmond.

Now let us see what was done in the attempt to open

the Mississippi. (Look at the map.) Locate the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. In what part of the country are they situated? How would the possession of these two streams help the North? What would the South do to prevent the use of these waterways? How could it fortify them? Where would it put forts? To allow easy access between them, the forts were located so as to have only land between them. How could they be strengthened? They were filled with provisions and were occupied by twenty thousand men.

How could these forts be taken? How approach them from the river? What special danger in February? How approach them from the land? Fort Henry fell and a few days later Donelson fell to General Grant. What would be the effect of the fall of these strongholds? It would secure Kentucky to the United States and keep most of Tennessee in subjection. It would open up the way into the South for Northern advance. It gave the North confidence as it was the first great victory it had won. It embarrassed the South greatly. It opened the Mississippi down to Island No. 10. Why? Grant was hailed as hero.

How would the North follow up this success? Why would it not act immediately? An advance was finally made in the latter part of March. (Look at the map.) Where would be a good place to strike? Corinth, where J. E. Johnston commanded a force of forty thousand men. From the forts to Corinth was too long a stretch. Where would be a good base of operations between these points? Pittsburg Landing. In what condition would these three streams be at this time of the year? What would be the condition of the land? Between the streams, Grant placed his army, numbering forty thousand.

General Buell, after establishing a provincial government with Nashville as its capital, marched to Grant's



aid. Grant's army was at Pittsburg Landing. Johnston suddenly attacked Grant's army before Buell arrived. Why? (See text.) What would be the effect of these successes? The entire states of Tennessee and Kentucky came under Northern control. The Mississippi was opened from the North down to Memphis.

Complete passage through the river was still impossible for either side. How could the North open the rest of it? The Federals couldn't press farther from the North, as they had to establish authority over the country already taken, and consequently they decided to begin operations at the mouth of the river.

How could the South keep the North from attacking New Orleans? Forts; flotillas in the river. How could these be arranged? Chains were also stretched across the river. How could the North get past these obstacles? Butler attacked the forts by land with fifteen thousand men; Farragut ran past the forts. New Orleans fell. What two strongholds were left on the Mississippi? Hudson and Vicksburg. This closed the year of 1862 in the West.

What was the problem of each side in the East? (See text.) What was done? By skilful manipulation of his meager forces, Jackson met and defeated Pope in a second battle of Bull Run, August 28-30. What would the Confederates attempt now? To carry the war into the North. What would the Federals do? McClellan was again put in command of the Army of Virginia on September 10. What called forth the greatest resources of the North? The danger of losing. How could the North prevent losing? Money, men, and a more efficient organization. How could the North get more men? More volunteers. An elaborate system, embracing every district in the Union, was initiated, whereby men were drafted

into the army. Compare with the Selective Draft plan of the United States in the World War. How could money be raised? By taxation, loan, and confiscation. Treasury notes were issued with interest. Notes were circulated with no interest (greenbacks). Which would bring the greater returns? All these methods were pursued to meet the daily expense which finally arose to three million dollars a day. How was money raised in the United States during the World War?

Let us take up each of these methods. First the method of taxing. How could the tax be increased? An income tax was established which was declared later to be unconstitutional. In a modified form we have the same graduated income tax to-day. How was it made constitutional? By constitutional amendment. What else could be taxed? Everything. Which would be the better policy—to tax a few things heavily or many things lightly? What is a luxury? Why should luxuries be taxed more than other things? Compare the luxury tax of Civil War times with that of the World War. Tariff went up. A number of things were taxed, varying directly, according to the extent of their use and their necessity.

How could loans be made? From whom? The generosity of the people can hardly be overestimated. Most of the loans came from Northern citizens. How are debts bonded? On what are loans based? Why were Civil War Bonds bought as quickly as Liberty Bonds? What makes these bonds the most secure of investments?

The last method of taxing and bonding caused trouble later. The country was flooded with greenbacks. What would be the effect of this on the value of a dollar bill? By the end of 1862, there was a deficit of four hundred and eighteen million dollars. What made the debt grow?



A more efficient organization was needed. Congress promoted army officers to attain this end.

While the North was making these preparations, the Confederates determined to advance upon Washington. Lee invaded Maryland and was met at Antietam by McClellan's army, September 17, 1862. Neither side gained a decisive victory, but Lee withdrew into Virginia. What would the Confederates do then? The North had failed to take Richmond, which encouraged the advance of the Confederate army. Everything was done to save Washington. Lee had failed to get a foothold in the North, which encouraged the Federal army to go into Virginia again. To protect itself, the South had to call out its reserves. Men, money, and a more efficient organization were needed. Why would it be more difficult to get these things in the South than in the North? The problem of the South was to form a nation as well as to acquire the means of perpetuating it. Response to the demands of the cause came in a wonderful manner.

Wherein had each side failed thus far? To take the enemy's capital. What would they do now? Try again. Burnside superseded McClellan as commander of the Eastern forces; Lee continued as the commander of the Southern forces. With the exception of the battle of Fredericksburg, which ended so disastrously for the North, both sides awaited the spring of 1863.

### *The Emancipation Proclamation*

While the two sides awaited the reopening of hostilities Lincoln took an important step. Let us see what it was. What was the fight really about? Slavery and the preservation of the Union. Which was the predominating influence? Which of these actuated the North?

Both. Which actuated the South? Preservation of slavery. Which would bring the sympathy of Europe to the North? To the South? Europe cared little for the political aspect of the struggle. She was not interested in the preservation of the United States. Her interests were chiefly industrial and humanitarian.

How had the South attempted to gain the sympathy of Europe? How could Lincoln get the sympathy of Europe for the North? Free the slaves and thus make the struggle seem a humanitarian one, in which Europe was interested, rather than to make it a mere civil struggle in which Europe was not concerned. Why did Lincoln hesitate, then, to abolish slavery? He could do it only as a war measure. He personally doubted the wisdom of freeing the slaves, as this involved a much greater problem. What was the problem? Freeing the slaves would alienate the border states, who were helping the North to preserve the Union. "My paramount purpose in this struggle is to save the Union." (Lincoln.) It would alienate many able Northerners who were backing Lincoln in preserving the Union, but who were not opposed to slavery, notably Douglas and his followers. His decree would be useless where slavery was most prevalent.

Why was it expedient to do it now? Europe, now ready to recognize the independence of the South, would be hindered in doing so. Why? How were negroes aiding the Southerners? They worked the fields while their masters fought. They dug ditches and did camp work. It would please many Northerners who were fighting for the emancipation of the slaves, regardless of the preservation of the Union.

How could Lincoln free the slaves and get the advantages and none of the disadvantages of so doing? How could he satisfy the border states? Congress volunteered

to pay them four hundred dollars apiece for their slaves. How might Lincoln gain a few Confederate states? Win them back into the Union by a promise to buy their slaves. How satisfy the Federal states? Insist on preserving the Union. Emancipate the negroes. How could he gain European sympathy? Change the aim of the war from the preservation of the Union to the emancipation of the slaves. This would keep the countries of Europe from aiding the South. So on September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued a statement to the effect that all the slaves in those states in rebellion against the United States would be freed on January 1, 1863.

Have the class read the Emancipation Proclamation. What would be the effect of such a decree on the South? They would laugh at it. Upon Europe? Europe would be won over to the North or at least kept from aiding the South. Upon the North? The North reduced the Lincoln party in the ensuing elections. Had it not been for the military rule in Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky which made these states solid Republican, the Republican majority in the House would have been overturned. What would Lincoln have to do then? How could he win the approval of the North again? How far had the North accomplished its purpose by the end of 1862? The North had blockaded the coast and reduced the extent of the Confederacy in the West to a great degree. But in the East little was accomplished. Gaining European sympathy was the greatest advance the North had made. Beyond this she was little better than in 1861.

### *The Year of 1863*

What would be the problems of the South in 1863? Organize the South into a solid Union. Prevent Northern invasion. Carry the war north and so get recognition

from Europe as the North had got its sympathy. How could the South accomplish these things?

What would the North have to do in 1863 to subdue the South completely? Get more men and resources. Capture Vicksburg and so open the Mississippi. Take Richmond. Subdue each state in a systematic military fashion. How could the North get more men? Conscription. How would this affect the people? Societies were formed to oppose the forcing of men into the army—Knights of the Golden Circle. How could such movements be counteracted? Many arrests were made. Other societies were formed to develop loyalty to the Union—Union League. Why would not the South have to go to these extremes to get men? The slaveholders fought for their very existence. Withal, the response to both sides was great.

Why was it necessary to open the Mississippi? What part was not opened? (Look at the map.) (P. 270, Appeal to Arms, Hosmer.) How was Vicksburg protected? River, bluffs, hills in the rear, great force of forty thousand men. Grant was made leader of an army of fifty thousand men. Why would he be anxious to attack this place? Why could he not use his entire army in the attack? What would be the effect of besieging Vicksburg? Great privation in the city. (See *My Cave Life in Vicksburg*, by a Lady.) On July 4, 1863, it fell. What effect would this victory have upon the North? Upon the attitude of the country toward Grant?

What did the North still have to do? The Chattanooga campaign, bringing about the disastrous battles of Chickamauga and Lookout Mountain (September 19 and 20, November 24) brought an end to the influence of the Confederacy in the West. What would the North do with this newly conquered territory?

Although the Confederacy was unsuccessful in the West, the Eastern victories made her forces eager to invade the North again. How could they capture Washington? (Appeal to Arms, Hosmer.) Lee therefore invaded Pennsylvania. He advanced as far as Gettysburg where, on June 30, Meade blocked his way with eighty-eight thousand men.

For three days the fighting went on. Neither could gain permanent ground. The climax was reached. Twenty-five men were falling every minute. Why was Pickett ordered to make his attack? Longstreet had differed with Lee on the wisdom of the charge. It was Lee's fatal error. Four thousand men were sacrificed without advantage. The Southern line broke and soon was in open retreat. Why didn't Meade follow up his victory? The retreat was not haphazard. Both sides were exhausted. Like Pyrrhus of old, Meade might have said: "If I should have such another successful battle, I should go home alone."

Read Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. How did he vindicate his aim in carrying on the war? What does this show us of Lincoln?

Washington was saved again. Richmond was still safe. What could each side do now? Wait. How would each feel? North? "She had inflicted more than she had suffered." South? The Confederacy was torn into two parts. What would be the effect of such division? Even furloughed soldiers could not get home. (Read *A Blockaded Family*, by Hague, p. 130.) The coast was blockaded and most of the seaports were in Federal hands. Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama were under Federal authority as was most of the land west of the Mississippi.

How would all this affect the life of the people who were loyal to the Confederacy? Where would the vigorous

men be? How would the blockade affect them? Where would martial law be in effect? How does that affect a people? The raising of cotton was given up in large measure. Domestic industries were begun. What kind of things would they have to make? How would they make them? Why would they make them that way? What were the conditions in the homes? The wants of those in the army had to be supplied. Nearly every family was affected by death. They feared the foe. "Many raised goats since they would tempt the enemy less than horses." (A Blockaded Family, P. A. Hague; Diary from Dixie, Mrs. Chestnut.) How would education be affected during this time?

How do you think the people of the North fared? The public debt had broken all records. Almost every house had felt the effects of the war. But prosperity crowned the cities. Prices were high. The demand for goods was great. Railways were pushing westward rapidly, where homesteads dotted the land more and more. The North did not feel the effects of the war as much as the South.

How could both sections help their respective armies? Ladies Aid Societies were formed. (Have a report on this.) Many of these societies still exist with a different aim. Sanitary and Christian Commissions, that were the forerunners of our Red Cross Society, sprang up everywhere. What could these do?

What had the North gained in 1863? What was left before them for the next year?

Grant was made commander of all the Federal forces before the spring of 1864. What would he try to do then? Overcome Lee as he had overcome Johnston in the West—by a superior force. He placed Sherman in command of the Western army. How could both of them work together to crush the South? They planned to lead the



Western army from Chattanooga to Atlanta, thence to Savannah, from which point it would move north. While Grant would push down on Richmond from the north, Sherman would attack it from the south. How would this affect Lee's army? Lee, cut from his supplies, would have to surrender. How could they do it?

Sherman captured Atlanta and then started south toward the sea. His army was arranged in four columns, twenty miles apart. It was planned that each column would advance at seven o'clock and go fifteen miles. Why so short a distance? How long would it take to reach Savannah at this rate? It took from November 15 to December 21. What would be the effect of such a march? A belt of land sixty miles wide and four hundred miles long lay in waste. Every mill, railroad, and tree was destroyed. The army had the effect of a tornado. Sherman said in his report made from the field, Savannah, Georgia, January 1, 1865: "We have also consumed the corn and fodder in the region of the country thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah, as also the sweet potatoes, cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry, and have carried away more than ten thousand horses and mules, as well as a countless number of their slaves. I estimate the damage done to the state of Georgia and its military resources at one hundred million dollars; at least twenty million dollars of which has inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simple waste and destruction."

What do you think of such destruction? Why did Sherman do it? Why did it seem necessary to destroy Atlanta? Compare with the devastation of France in the World War.

We have already said Grant was made commander of all the Federal forces in March, 1864. Why did Lincoln choose him? Because of his success in the West. What



do you think made him so successful? (A report on Grant might be given here.) Of him Lincoln said, "I can't spare this man, he fights." Although he did not speak much, he has said some striking things. "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." What do these quotations show us about Grant? A man of purpose and grit. Why was such a man needed in the East? Only a superior force constantly applied would conquer Lee.

Grant assumed the head of the army of the Potomac, which was under the direct command of Meade. On May 4, 1864, he took the field and began to move forward. While passing through the thickly wooded region of northern Virginia, he was suddenly attacked by Lee. Three days of fighting followed. This was called the battle of the Wilderness, May 5, 6, and 7. Lee was slowly pushed South. He made a stand at Spottsylvania, where, from May 10 to 21, Grant tried in vain to break his lines. From May 5 to May 21, Grant lost thirty thousand men and had gained nothing. What could he do now? He tried to attack Lee from the east. He found a great force entrenched at Cold Harbor, a place fifteen miles east of Richmond. Eighty thousand men attacked it. Seven thousand fell in an hour. Grant withdrew. Where would he now try to attack Lee? From the south. The fighting now centered about Petersburg twenty miles to the south of Richmond. Though thousands of men were lost, nothing was definitely gained on either side. Who could stand the greater loss? What could Lee do to get this aggressive army away from his? He sent Early to raid the North? On one occasion he was but a few miles from Washington. Why didn't he take the city? He didn't know that it was so meagerly defended.

What would Grant do now? The engagements between Sheridan and Early at Winchester and Cedar Creek followed. (Read Sheridan's Ride.) In the end, Sheridan drove Early away and ravaged the Shenandoah Valley. Why did he do this? Lee's supplies were now cut off. Grant was pressing upon his entrenchments with a comparatively new force of one hundred and thirteen thousand men. What could Lee do? He slowly retreated westward. Grant followed. A week after he had left his entrenchments, Lee was announced at Appomattox, where he surrendered his army which had been reduced from over sixty thousand men to twenty-seven thousand. This was on April 9, 1865. On April 26 Johnston surrendered to Sherman. What would these surrenders mean? What do you think Grant should do with these men?

Let us see what the end of the war meant. Why had they fought? Two great principles were interpreted differently. The principles of slavery and state sovereignty were accepted by the South and denied by the North. How had the war affected these principles? Negro slavery was entirely abolished by adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, and the Union was preserved.

What did the end of the war mean to the South?

1. The collapse of the Confederacy. "The Confederate Congress will not live in history for it never really existed at all." (Jones, Civil War Clerk's Diary II, p. 379.) Jefferson Davis was defeated, and with him the Congress that acted according to his will. The Supreme Court of the South had never met. To what extent can you say that the Confederacy of Southern States is only a term?
2. A ravaged country. Where could reconstruction begin?
3. A country without a monetary system. The day before Lee's surrender a man offered a five hundred dollar note for a pair of boots that were marked two hun-

dred dollars. When the storekeeper failed to make the change, he replied, "O, keep the change." What does this indicate? 4. The negro problem.

What did the end of the war mean to the North? 1. The return to normal internal development. Why wasn't this checked in the North as much as in the South? To what extent would the war aid such development? Railroad building went on as never before, and thousands of discharged soldiers were used in this work. How had the war hindered such development? The physical vigor of the nation was lowered. Many of the hardiest men had been killed and many were wounded. 2. A great debt problem. It ultimately took fifteen billion dollars to pay it. 3. A broken nation to reconstruct. 4. Effect on religion, education, and literature.

What did the end of the war mean to its leader? On May 24 and 25 a grand review of the army took place before the Capitol. It had done its work and was ready to go back home. But in the President's place sat Johnson. Why wasn't Lincoln there? While attending a play at Ford's Theatre, April 14, an actor by the name of John Wilkes Booth jumped into the box which Lincoln occupied and shot him. The next day he died. What made Lincoln the greatest man of his time? "He is the greatest American, if men are measured like monuments from the base to the pinnacle." "He had the humor of Franklin; the long suffering of Washington; the philosophy of Jefferson; the backwoodsman fiber of Jackson." "The American admires an individual—one who stands apart from the average and dares to declare himself."

In what sense was the Union not complete, and the negro problem not settled? What unites the states of America into one Union to-day? Why is there a "solid South" to-day?

## PART IV

*What the Slavery Question Has Taught Us*

1. What was the basic cause of the Civil War? Slavery, not secession; secession precipitated the war. The motive behind it all, the real cause, was the question of slavery. How did the war answer this question? It abolished slavery.

2. How might the Civil War have been avoided? What would have been the result of adopting such a plan? A tremendous cost in dollars and blood would have been saved. The Civil War cost the United States Government fifteen billion dollars in all; almost a million men were lost. How might this money have been spent? The difference between plus fifteen and minus fifteen is thirty; so the difference between "wasting" fifteen billion dollars and utilizing fifteen billion dollars is thirty billion dollars. This is one-seventh of the wealth (real and personal) of this nation to-day. How could it have been used? How might these men have been used? What kind of men were they? Our best. How are we planning to settle disputes in the future? Arbitration. (For list of arbitration treaties signed by the United States, see *Treaties for the Advancement of Peace*, Oxford University Press.) What institution did the nations of the world establish in 1899 for the settlement of disputes? Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. (See the *Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*, edited by James Brown Scott, Oxford University Press.) What institution has been established by the League of Nations for the judicial settlement of disputes? Permanent Court of International Justice. (Consult the *Draft Scheme for the Court*, League of Nations Official Journal,

September, 1920.) What other organs of the League of Nations constitute a means for the settlement of disputes? The Council and the Assembly. (See Covenant of the League of Nations.)

#### (4) THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1875

FREDRIC P. WOELLNER

##### *The Nation After the War*

Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865, and Johnston on April 26. What did these surrenders mean? End of the war. End of the Confederacy. Victory for the Union. What had the North fought for? Let us inquire into the state of the Union after the war.

What were the problems that confronted the Northern states? A debt of two billion eight hundred million dollars. An army of one million men to disband. The administering of justice. How was this done in war times? What changes must be made? All industry changed from a war to a peace basis. Business revived. How did the Union get war material? What would become of the munitions factories and workers?

How did conditions and problems in the border states differ from those in the North? Where were most of the battles fought? What was the effect of battles upon farm property? Upon villages? Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee were largely represented in both armies. Many families were divided. What effect would this have? Some of the feuds existing to the present day can be traced to this period.

What were the problems of the Southern states? What was the effect of the invasion upon plantations and villages there? Bridges, railways, mills, homes, and gran-

aries were destroyed. Sherman's march to the sea devastated a region four hundred miles long and sixty miles wide. What effect would emancipation have upon the landowners? People who were wealthy before the war had to obtain their food from the commissary department of the Union army. What effect would emancipation have upon the negroes? Idle, wandering, accepting charity of benevolent Northerners. What would be the effect of such charity? What would be the effect of the collapse of the Confederacy upon finance? What, then, was the problem of the government?

*How the Government Attempted to Remedy the  
Consequences of the War*

What could be done with the army? Which would be better, to keep it or disband it? One authority says: "Democratic armies may be weaker at the outset of a war but they are always stronger in protracted warfare." What reasons are there for thinking this? On May 25 and 26, 1865, a grand review of the army took place in front of the Capitol and most of the soldiers were sent home. What could these men do? Why would it be difficult for them to take up former occupations? In spite of the difficulties many did this, but large numbers were without occupation. What did the soldiers do after the War of 1812? What are the United States soldiers of the World War doing? How would new discoveries of gold in Colorado and Nevada help?

The period after the war was marked by great enterprise in railroad construction. The large cities of the Mississippi Valley were connected with the North Atlantic ports by great trunk lines with hundreds of branches. Trace some of these early trunk lines. From Chicago they now began to stretch westward toward the Pacific.



What occupations could officers and soldiers find in this work? Why would it be congenial to many? In addition to this, six million Europeans immigrated to this country between 1865 and 1872. About eight hundred thousand of them went South.

What could be done with the great debt? Why did this debt keep increasing after the war? Interest at five per cent and pensions had to be paid. In 1911 there were eight hundred ninety-two thousand and ninety-eight pensioners and \$157,325,160.35 was paid them. Find the amount of the Civil War pension budget for 1920. How do you account for so large an amount? Yet one billion dollars was paid by 1872. How could the government get this money? Taxes, revenues, bonds.

On July 18, 1870, the government issued the following bonds:

Five hundred million dollars at five per cent redeemable in ten years.

Three hundred million dollars at four and one-half per cent redeemable in fifteen years.

One billion dollars at four per cent redeemable in thirty years.

All these bonds were payable in coin and exempt from any bond tax. Compute the interest on these bonds as indicated. To what sum does this increase the debt? Who took these bonds? How many Liberty Bonds were issued during the World War?

How many Union depots, such as the Pennsylvania Depot in New York, could be built with the money the North spent in the Civil War? The estimated cost of the depot and the approaches was three hundred and seventy-five million dollars. How many universities such as Chicago University could be established with

this money? Compare the cost with that of the Panama Canal. In 1910 the taxable property of Ohio was nearly three billion dollars. Compare this with the cost of the Civil War. Look up the tax duplicate in your own state and compare.

*How the Government Attempted Reconstruction in the  
Border States*

To what extent had these states fared the same as those in the North? Loss of men; debt. What other difficulties were there here? Deeper, more intensified feeling. No unified sense of either victory or defeat. The citizens of these states were divided. What would be the effect of such division? How could they be brought together? How would the employment of force through national troops affect the situation? Bring about a "state of war." Arouse unsympathetic feeling for the government. What could such troops do? Nothing positive—only quell disorder. What other plan was needed? Study in texts Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. His plan in brief was this: Seek out the men in those states that had not actively aided the Confederacy and with them as a nucleus, regenerate the states. Lincoln had never acknowledged the right of a state to secede and never had conceded that any state ever had withdrawn. The war he prosecuted was one against individuals and not states. Consequently after the war, the governments of the states went on, but conducted only by those who had remained loyal to the union. What effect would the execution of such a plan have on the border states? Who might object to such a policy? Northerners and Congress. What would be their objections? How do you think Lincoln would have met such objections? Before anything was accomplished in this controversy, even before

the final peace negotiations, Lincoln had been killed and Johnson (of Tennessee) had become President.

How would the death of Lincoln affect the South? He was their friend. The North was more bitter against the South because of Lincoln's death. How would that affect Congress? Johnson's policy was the same as Lincoln's. Study Johnson in the texts and decide why he would not be able to carry it out. The difference between him and Lincoln, as pointed out by some historians, is not a difference in policy, but in tact in pursuing that policy. Why would Congress oppose Johnson more than Lincoln? Lincoln was Republican "whip" in Congress and out of it. He was the head of his party in theory and fact. Johnson was simply used by the national organization to help Lincoln and win his second election. Johnson was the leader of the "war Democrats" and had the neutral states with him. It was these considerations that made Lincoln accept him. After the election his services were over and the Republican party was not so careful of its treatment of him. Congress and Johnson were soon in bitter conflict; the former with a view to treat with rebellious states, the other with a view to reorganizing states that were unfortunate enough to have rebellious subjects.

### *References :*

Burgess' Reconstruction and the Constitution.

Lincoln's Plan. (Chapter 2.)

Johnson's Plan. (Chapter 3.)

Congress' Plan. (Chapter 4.)

Hart's American Nation—Reconstruction.

Which should decide as to the policy to be pursued? Congress—it represents the people. The President—he is the executive authority. The people—it is a democracy.

The Supreme Court—it interprets the laws and Constitution. (In this discussion lead the children to see that the principles of justice alone are the ultimate authority. The Constitution, President, Congress, Supreme Court are only justified as they abide by such principles.) But who would have the final decision? The one with the power. Congress needs but two-thirds to override the President. What effect would such difference between the President and Congress have upon the work before them?

### *How Attempts Were Made to Reconstruct the South*

The Southern states were in a chaotic condition after the war; the land was almost entirely despoiled; the people were reduced to destitute circumstances. What could be done with such a territory? 1. Divide it into certain units and completely revise the map with new states. Thaddeus Stevens was the exponent of this particular plan. Radical to an extreme he would have blotted out South Carolina, dividing her territory between North Carolina and Georgia. "As a state has only residuary powers it is useless to talk of the indestructibility of a state." It is an interesting piece of political narrative, the way this radical Pennsylvanian Congressman, at first almost alone, gradually arose to the leadership of the House for two years.

2. Bring the states back into the Union, allowing military power for a while to sustain those loyal citizens who were willing to bear the responsibility of reorganizing their states along old lines.

3. Let the states return to the Union under specific conditions and promises. Congress adopted the third plan. What are the arguments for this plan? It was constitutional, kept old state lines, a compromise. Who would determine the policy? Congress? President?

What power was behind each? People of the North alone voted those days. What hope had the South from the North at the polls? What had made the North so unsympathetic? The slavery question, the Civil War, Southerners' treatment of the negro after the war that found such a conspicuous place in Northern newspapers, assassination of Lincoln. Discuss the justice of each of these points.

What effect had emancipation upon the slaves? Some were exultant on account of the removal of force; some were helpless through the lack of physical and moral support; some were revengeful on account of the hardships they had endured. How could the North continue to help the slave after emancipating him? (Call for reports on the following: Freedman's Bureau, established by the government; The "Home Mission" Funds of Churches that set aside a portion for the negro.) "Freedman's Bureau" was established in many churches. (Reference: Hart's American Nation Series—Reconstruction, pages 30-34, 39-68.) How did these activities affect the negroes? The South's problem?

What could the Southerners do? They passed vagrancy laws. In some states (in some even to-day) they debarred the negro from public highways after 6. P. M. How would the North view any infringement upon the negroes' rights? They thought the South was defeating the North in its emancipation policy. The papers of the North, as well as the pulpits of the time, denounced such laws. The freed negroes were given the suffrage. How would their suffrage affect the elections? Only those whites who sympathized with them were elected. Many negroes were elected. How would such elections affect the white people of the South? Those who had enlisted in open opposition to the National Government in 1861-

65 were disfranchised. How would this increase the difficulty? What could they do? They could not organize open opposition since they had just been defeated. Secret opposition developed in such orders as the "White Camelia" and "Ku Klux Klan." Many left to seek new fortunes in the West.

What would be the effect of such activity in the South? Increase the anger of the North. How would this affect the problem before the country? What difficulty already seen would affect this problem? Difference between Congress and President. The ten years after the Civil War wrought perhaps quite as much disaster to Southern prosperity as the years of active warfare. The collapse of the Confederacy brought financial ruin even to the wealthiest. After four years of neglect and disuse the land was almost unusable in many cases. The people were without comfort in defeat and without hope to better their condition. The outlook was darkened by such differences in national policy, racial antipathy, and sectional prejudice that even the most optimistic grew faint. For example, the value of the "real" property, which after the war was five billion dollars, fell to a little over three billion dollars by 1870.

*The Result of the Difference Between the President  
and Congress*

During the recess of Congress, Johnson, following Lincoln's plan, recognized a state government as soon as one was formed and had shown its sincerity by ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment guaranteeing the freedom of slaves. As a consequence of their renewed rights these states began to send representatives to Washington. The plan of Congress for reconstruction being different

from that of the President, the House refused admittance to these new representatives. Why would Congress do this? Who should settle the difficulties? What effect would these new Southern congressmen have on Congress itself? The complexion of the House and Senate would change and politicians do not risk majorities unnecessarily. Lead the class to see the expediency of such activity to keep the stability of the "present" government.

What could President Johnson do? Constitutionally he had the right to do as he did and so had Congress. When Congress and the President get into such a deadlock, who only can break it? The people. How do they express themselves? The presidential election was two years off. The congressional election was pending at that time. (1866). What might Johnson hope from this? Return of men to Congress who would support him. How could he help to bring this about? Persuade the people to send men who were favorable to his policy. Each congressman had to declare himself for or against the President. In reality Johnson was the issue of the campaign of 1866. In 1864-66 the Republicans had a majority in the House. In 1866-68 the Republicans had over two-thirds of the House. What did the increased Republican majority mean? What could Johnson do now? (Read any newspaper of October 7, 1866, for Johnson's abusive speeches.) What does this show as to the nature of the man?

What could Congress do? Strike back, limit him. In 1867 Congress passed the "Tenure of Office Act" which forbade the President to remove any officials whose appointment depended upon the Senate's consent, without the consent of the Senate. The Tenure of Office Act was finally repealed by Congress in 1887. Woodburn says in the American Republic (page 92): "It is now an unwrit-



ten law that a President may remove his appointee without the Senate's consent."

How would such a law affect Johnson? He would recognize that this act was a direct attack upon him, and so would resist it. The common practice then as to-day is to make a "test case" of the law. The question of this "test case" is significant at the present time. To-day the faction which desires certain legislation considers the battle but half won when its laws are written on the statute books. The "test case" really defines the law. Stanton was implicated in congressional politics, had been appointed by Lincoln as Secretary of War and was continued in that office by Johnson. After they came to disagreement, Johnson chose to remove Stanton not only to get rid of him, but to make a test case of this act of Congress. It is a matter of interest that Stanton is said to have drawn up this very law. In what way was this a strong position for President Johnson? He selected a cabinet man who had not been appointed by him and so did not violate technically the Tenure of Office Act. In Stanton he had also selected one who he felt had committed real offences against the executive, thus making the question of his guilt more prominent than the question of constitutionality of the law.

What could Congress do? (Read Article II, Section 1, first clause of Part 5, of the Constitution.) What does this suggest? Who tries the case? (Read Article I, Section 5 of the Constitution.) What is necessary to convict? (Read Article I, Section 6 of the Constitution.) On February 24th, 1868, the House preferred a charge of "high crimes and misdemeanors" against President Johnson, and on March 13, the Senate with chief justice Salmon Chase in the chair began to hear the evidence. The friction between the President and Congress had always

produced more heat than light and the trial proved no exception. It went on for months through the heat of Washington's summer, although at the outset it was seen that the President had not been guilty of any crime. The vote was finally taken. (See Congressional Records.)

Had you been a senator at the trial what are the points that might have determined your vote? Best judgment on the evidence presented. The law involved. Your obligations to the party and its leaders. The danger of establishing a precedent of removing a President. The demand of your constituents. (The opinions of the pupils are likely to be sharply divided on these questions. They should be led to see that right conduct is not so simple a matter, but that many factors are involved.) Most people are sincerely desirous of doing right, but are hindered or brought to wrong action by the mere complexity of the situation. Should a senator vote as he thinks or as his constituents think? Lincoln said: "While acting as a representative of the people I shall be governed by their will on all subjects, upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is, and upon all others I shall do what my own judgment teaches me will best advance their interests." It is always a question in representative government as to whether a representative should vote as his constituents think or as his own conscience dictates. As a matter of fact constituents did send, as they do to-day, many communications to their respective senators. One leading church sent a resolution to the Senate for the removal. Are such communications advices or threats? When the vote was taken it stood thirty-five for removal, nineteen against removal. How do you interpret this vote?

What danger exists in this power of removing Presi-

dents? What need is there for it? What could Congress do now since impeachment failed? Wait for elections. What effect would all this have on the question of reconstruction?

### *How These Differences Affected the Chaotic South*

Congress recognized any state, as such, that was willing to free the slave and place him on an equality with the white man. Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Kansas voted for freedom but against the ballot for the negro. What arguments for and against giving the negro the suffrage at this time? Who could vote in the South? Negroes. Whites that lived in the South and had not fought against the Union. Compare the probable character and ability of those and the disfranchised Confederates. Which would be the controlling factor in the South? Why? How? A clique of these so-called "low whites" would form a political ring and, posing as the protectors of the negro, conduct the government of the cities and states for their own private gain. These white political leaders were called "scalawags."

What opportunity did this situation in the South afford Northern whites? The political adventurers saw possibilities of financial gain. They were called "carpet baggers." Why? Which would be the more reckless, the "scalawags" or the "carpet baggers"? What means would they use to get the negro vote? Bribery. Promises of good positions, etc. What kind of government would result? (1) Inefficient. In 1868, the Legislature of South Carolina was mostly black and seventy-four members that were property owners paid but six hundred and thirty-five dollars and twenty-three cents taxes; ninety-one had no property. In Alabama that year the

members of the Legislature that were property owners paid but one hundred dollars taxes. (2) Corrupt. By 1870 in Louisiana, the state debt grew from ten million dollars to fifty million dollars. In Alabama the debt went up to thirty million dollars and in Georgia it increased fifty million dollars. Why is inefficiency often as dangerous as corruption? How might this money have been spent? Bridges reconstructed. Railroads built. Running expenses of government met. Debt paid. The increase was not used in this way. Instead railroad companies were subsidized that never laid a track; public works were begun at frightful costs; deliberate plundering was carried on through the form of purchase; extravagances of many kinds developed.

*References :*

Ku Klux Klan Commission Report, pages 101-233.

Hart's American Nation—Reconstruction, page 208.

Fleming's Reconstruction in Alabama.

Reynold's Reconstruction in South Carolina.

United States Statutes at large. Part 12. Act of 1862-64.

The Union Pacific R. R. Davis, chapter 5.

Why the Solid South, Herber, page 420.

House Reports of 42d Congress—second session No. 92.

What would be the result of such expenditures? How would heavy taxes affect the dissatisfaction? In one county in South Carolina, two thousand pieces of property were sold for taxes. In Mississippi six hundred and forty thousand acres were sold for failure to pay. Why did Congress not change conditions? Why were negroes not removed from office? They were upheld by a Congress made up largely of Northern politicians. Why did not elections settle the question? Every election led to dis-

putes and the Federal troops were obliged to carry out the laws favoring the newly enfranchised. What could the self-respecting Southerners do? In 1866 a group of men in Pulaski, Tennessee, formed a secret order called the Ku Klux Klan whose delight was in creating excitement in the village by their nightly pranks. The organization grew and spread to other villages. It began to take on a serious aspect and soon became the "Invisible Empire," with the aim of handling the question of white supremacy in the South. Kindred organizations were established such as the "Knights of the White Camelia," "The Pale Faces," "Constitutional Union Guards," "The Brotherhood" with their "dens" in every town and city. To what extent can you justify membership in such an organization? To what would such secret activity eventually lead? Why would this furnish good material for story-writers? How would these stories affect our judgment of these organizations? How could such an influence be combated? How would it affect the North?

### *The Effect of Grant's Election*

As we have seen in the previous lessons, the reconstruction policy of Congress had failed to bring about a satisfactory condition, and while Congress had failed to remove Johnson, Johnson had failed to win popular support. What would the people be obliged to do? Await the elections. How would this affect the work of readjustment? In choosing a man from each party to run for President what would be the chief considerations? A man strong enough to pull the whole ticket with him. A man able to guide the party with harmony if elected. What advantage would a party have that selected a military hero? What disadvantage might there be in electing a military man? What are usually the qualities of a

military leader? What are the qualities needed by a President? Which of these qualities are contradictory? (Read: *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, by McClure, beginning at page 210.) On May 10, 1868, the Republicans met at Chicago and nominated General Grant, a life-long Democrat, for the presidency. Governor Seymour of New York was put up to oppose him.

What would be the campaign arguments in favor of Grant? His war success. Personally he was moderate and just. He had a definite reconstruction policy. He had been a Democrat and so might encourage others to change their politics. Find in the texts the arguments for Seymour as the Democratic candidate. He was the governor of New York and there was a saying: "As New York goes, so goes the Union." He had not the prominence of Grant. Why might that be considered an advantage? He had no definite reconstruction policy. How might that be an argument in his favor?

Which candidate would expect the Southern vote? The negroes were loyal to the Republican party; the whites who opposed them were Democrats and disfranchised. The only states, Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia, that did not sign the Fourteenth Amendment that gave the negro the ballot, were not in the Union, so could not vote for President. Which candidate would expect the Northern vote? Grant? What reasons against? Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Kansas voted against the Fourteenth Amendment. What would this indicate? What would be indicated by the fact that Seymour was governor of New York? Which candidate would expect the border states? The results there would be doubtful. Where would you expect the campaign to be the fiercest? Shortly before the election Nebraska was admitted to the Union over Johnson's veto. How would Nebraska vote in this election?



On what issue would the parties be very definite? Reconstruction was the "paramount issue." What should the platform contain in regard to other questions of the day? (Read selections of the platform from *History of the Presidency*, Stanwood, page 318.) All platforms from the "Federalists" to the present day have common characteristics. The words "safe and sane," "to us and our posterity," "reasonable tariff" to describe their policies are found in them all. Plank 2 was: "The guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men in the South demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude and of justice, and must be maintained, while the question of suffrage in all the loyal states properly belongs to the people of those states." Plank 7 was: "The government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson call loudly for radical reform." Why is plank two so indefinite and plank seven so severe? What would be some of the subordinate "planks"? Money, tariff, railroads, development of the West.

The election was held in November, 1868; Grant received two hundred and fourteen electoral votes and Seymour eighty, although Grant had only three hundred thousand popular majority. Seymour carried seven states including New York and Oregon, and lost many by only a few votes. Show how the "electoral system" may result in a man's election by a popular minority. How would the people await Grant's inauguration? What would he be doing in the meantime? Selecting members of his Cabinet. Find their names in the text. How do you account for the selections?

How do you think such a man as Grant would handle the reconstruction problems? The army was Grant's principal instrument for quieting and governing the



South. What would the North think of such a policy? What would the South think of it? How would this policy affect the administration of justice in the South? The prosperity of the South? The happiness of the South? From 1866-72 seven million people immigrated into this country. Why would they not go South? Were there other than political reasons why immigrants would not go into the Southern states in large numbers? Less than eight hundred thousand went there. What condition would exist in the North? How would this prosperity affect Grant's popularity as President?

Let us see how the South found a way to help itself. How had the years after the Civil War affected the South? Socially the caste system of "gentry," "slave," "low white" was broken. The result was a heterogeneous society. Politically the reality of the whole situation overshadowed all arbitrary and impractical considerations. Tradition had been shattered. A new democracy based upon the new situation arose gradually. Industrially the weakness of the South was the cause of its ills. How could the South rebuild its industrial side? For what was the land especially fitted? What market was there for cotton? Why is the demand still great? Compare with the demand during the World War.

*References:* The Cotton Industry, T. M. Young.

Grady's New South.

Carpenter's How We are Clothed.

For what do we need cotton? What effect has the price of cotton on the price of other goods? On prices in general? Why was there not enough cotton to supply this demand? Lincoln's blockade was so successful that the shipment of cotton to England was reduced in two years from four hundred million dollars to four million dollars. England's activity in behalf of the South was

carried on for the purpose of getting cotton for herself. The supply of diamonds is constant. The demand is increasing. How will that affect future prices? The supply of cattle is decreasing. The demand is increasing. How does that affect the price? If the world (England and New England primarily) were paying five times more for cotton than a few years previous, why did not the South increase its production of cotton? Negroes had grown unwilling to work and were arrogant. The Southern gentlemen were unaccustomed to manual labor. Poor whites were too independent; they were satisfied with their own conditions. They lacked capital.

How could they overcome these difficulties? Where might they get money? What would the North consider before lending money to the South? Poverty of the South. Demand for investment everywhere. How would such considerations affect the rate of interest, if they secured the money? What would be the effect upon the North? It would enrich many men. What effect upon the South? There was a strong migration westward. Taxes went up; property went down. "They mortgaged the future to redeem the past." "They put their natural resources to pawn, a pawn payable in the twentieth century." Where, then, lay the hope of the South? In spite of the high rates, Northern money boomed the South. Factories were built; coal fields were developed; railroads were extended; cotton became king again. In 1876 Hayes was made President. Soldiers were withdrawn from the South. Confidence was reinstated. The days of reconstruction were over. A new era dawned. A new South had taken the place of the old.

## (5) THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE, 1875-1920

FREDRIC P. WOELLNER

### *Outline*

- I. The struggle for political justice.
  - (A) The problem of the city.
    - 1. Its rise.
    - 2. Its problem.
  - (B) The problem of the state.
  - (C) The Presidency: Hayes to Wilson.
- II. The struggle for industrial justice.
  - (A) The rise of industrial leaders.
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  - (C) The rise of organized labor.
- III. The struggle for economic justice.  
Conservation.
- IV. The struggle for social justice.
  - (A) Introduction.
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  - (C) The recreation sphere.
  - (D) The education sphere.
  - (E) The religious sphere.
- V. The struggle for international justice.
  - (A) The question of immigration.
  - (B) The Spanish-American War.
  - (C) The Panama Canal.
- VI. The United States a World-Power.

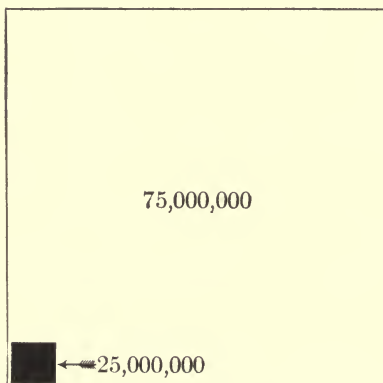
## PART I

## THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL JUSTICE

(A) *The Problem of the City*

In 1776 there were no cities in the United States with more than thirty thousand population. Less than five per cent of the population got their living in other ways than agriculture.

<i>Places of 30,000 people or more</i>			<i>Per Cent of Population of U. S. in these Places</i>
In 1850 there were	19.....		7.3
" 1860 " "	26.....		10.3
" 1870 " "	44.....		13.5
" 1880 " "	63.....		15.3
" 1890 " "	103.....		20.0
" 1900 " "	135.....		25.1
" 1910 " "	184.....		29.7
" 1915 " "	over 200		
" 1915 one-fourth of the people (25,000,000) lived on one-four-hundredth of the land.			



Look up the rise and growth of your city. Compare it with Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. How can you explain the growth of urban centers? Increase in population. Look at the population of China or India and Abyssinia. What connection do you see between the population and urban centers? Very little, for, while Abyssinia is sparsely settled and China and India are densely populated, few urban centers can be found.

What, then, brings so many people into one locality? Certain lines of progress. Let us first see how economic progress has brought about these centers. How does progress in farming bring people together in one place? Improved methods of farming increase the supply of food with less manual work. So each invention releases men from the soil. How does civilization affect the need for food? What is the difference between an Indian's need of food and ours? It is the savage's primal consideration; it is only one of the many wants of a civilized man. How does our desire for food compare with our other desires? Food is almost our cheapest want—its limit is reached sooner than that of other desires. It cannot be multiplied and varied so much as other wants; it cannot be used beyond a certain definite limit. How does all this affect urban centers? Other wants have increased very fast. The farmers grew to be no longer content with the bare necessities of life; and, above all, improved machinery decreased the number of farm hands needed for the production of necessities. So many farmers could move to the city, where there was a demand at high wages for their help in the manufacture of luxuries and machines.

Why, then, do people leave the farm? Partly through economic pressure. Why do they gather in cities? Some

are needed there—many go because of superior social and educational advantages. What do you think brought about the need of more men there? In the old days, the farmer spent his spare time in handicraft. He was a part-time manufacturer. Why can he not do that today? More skill is needed; machinery demands concentration of “hands.” A man once said: “Steam-driven machines have made your cities.” Justify his statement. If steam brought men together what do you think of the possibility of this being counteracted with electricity and gasoline? How could electricity make the farmer a part-time manufacturer again? Why do you think that this is not very probable?

So one force releases the farm workers; the other brings them to a center. What other factor would facilitate their changing from one place to the other? Good roads, railroads, canals. How do these traveling facilities affect the growth of cities? A mere break in a line of railroad may occasion the rise of a city. Railroad discrimination may build up a town or make it fall back.

Now let us see what social progress has done to make urban centers. Why does the city offer more satisfaction for the social instinct than the country? What opportunities does the city offer in this respect? Where do you find the highest standard of living? Perhaps the lowest as well as the highest standard of living is in the city. Grant that the average is better in the country, why would the city be the better place for one to live? Opportunity. What foods can be had cheaper in the city? What better? Why does the city offer better educational opportunities than the country? As there are more pupils better salaries can be paid to teachers. Cities are wealthier than rural districts. Give some statistics as to the numbers leaving the country districts since the World War.

Now let us see how political progress contributes toward the growth of urban centers. Why are the departments of government centralized? Where? Why there? How does such centralization affect the size of the urban center? How else does it affect the urban center? Take Washington, D. C., as an example. How do you account for its failure to keep pace *industrially* with other cities? Why is this more or less true of all capitals?

To what extent does the city affect the individual more immediately than the national or state government? The city supplies the immediate needs—water, transit facilities, education, police, etc. These are felt more keenly and are more obvious to the individual than immigration or tariff. To what extent, then, should the city be self-governing? As far as it is the city's business.

We have seen the forces that make cities. Now let us see what the rise of cities means to us. From 1870 to 1915 the growth of cities in number and size is striking. Look at Chicago and New York.

<i>New York</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Chicago</i>
942,292	1870	298,977
1,206,699	1880	503,186
2,517,414	1890	1,099,850
3,437,362	1900	1,698,575
4,756,883	1910	2,185,283
5,621,151	1920	2,701,212

What do these figures mean? Sometimes two urban centers unite—Brooklyn and New York. What does such consolidation indicate?

What would be the result of such great growth? Proper adjustments could not keep pace with this growth; seri-



ous problems therefore arose. What do you think some of these problems were? How shall we light our city? How shall we police our city? etc., etc. These problems are still with us. (A report might be made on some of them.) What effect would this have on political corruption? (Look up the Tweed Ring.) In what way were the state and national politicians responsible for this corruption? How does the boss, who is a creation of city politics, attempt to influence national parties? What argument is there for having a boss? What objections are there to a boss?

What reasons have you for thinking that cities will continue to grow? The same economic forces that made them are still at work, and in increasing measure. Some occupations that heretofore had tended to disperse population is tending to concentrate it; *i. e.*, mining. Mining towns of West Virginia and Colorado. Mining is done on such a large scale that cities spring up about mines. With the exception of food and certain raw materials, the most of our greatest needs can be supplied best by cities.

What reasons can you give for thinking that cities may not continue to grow? The rural districts are offering many of the advantages of the city: rural free delivery, parcel post, telegraph, telephone, etc. How do good roads, automobiles, rapid transit facilities, etc., affect the problem? The automobile has eliminated distance in the old sense. Explain how.

A man once described the United States of 2000 A. D. as "a great number of trade centers surrounded by suburbs." How would such an arrangement help to solve the problem of the balance between city and country?

*Review Summary:* Why may the city be called the light bearer of civilization?

*(B) The Problem of the State*

Since 1875, eleven states have been admitted to the Union. Which are they?

<i>State</i>	<i>Date of Admission</i>
1. Colorado.....	August 1, 1876
2. North Dakota.....	November 2, 1889
3. South Dakota.....	November 2, 1889
4. Montana.....	November 8, 1889
5. Washington.....	November 11, 1889
6. Idaho.....	July 3, 1890
7. Wyoming.....	July 10, 1890
8. Utah.....	January 4, 1896
9. Oklahoma.....	November 16, 1907
10. New Mexico.....	January 6, 1912
11. Arizona.....	February 14, 1912

What do you notice about the location of all these states? What determined the admission of these states? Population, condition of the population. How is a state admitted? In what way are all states equally represented in Congress? In what way unequally represented? Before 1870 it was not uncommon for a United States senator to resign his seat to accept a governorship; after 1870 the reverse was not uncommon. How do you explain this? The states are growing relatively less powerful in our political system. What brought about the change? In a word, the Civil War. But in reality, the Civil War only marks an epoch in the development of the ideal of federation. What forces were making the United States the real unit of political authority? "We are physically one," said Abraham Lincoln. Every invention made that unit more real. Railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and trolleys were eliminating distances.

How far are these same forces world-wide? What will be the effect of them? To what extent can the nations of the earth federate as our states have done? To what extent does the League of Nations propose to carry on the world's business as the United States carries on its business; with each state carrying on its business; and each city its business?

Each state has its own laws and constitution. What is the effect of such individuality of states? Maine and Kansas declared themselves prohibition states. Near-by states shipped liquor into them. What do you think of such a procedure? So with marriage laws, etc. What ought to be done to rectify such a condition of affairs?

On February 4, 1887, Congress passed an "Interstate Commerce Act." A commission was provided to regulate interstate commerce. What business would such a commission affect most? Railroad. These principles were laid down. See how each one affects the problem:

1. Railroads are forbidden to make a higher charge to one customer than to another for the same service.

2. Pools are forbidden.

3. Rates must be posted and cannot be changed without notice.

4. Rates for short hauls cannot exceed those for longer hauls on the same line.

5. Railroads must make sworn reports of their business.

This commission was given additional powers from time to time. What are some of them? Sherman Act of 1890 prohibited combinations that restricted trade. In the same year shipment of liquor into dry states was prohibited. The control of telegraph, telephone, and cable companies came under their jurisdiction. (Hepburn Amendment 1906.) Power was also extended to include

the regulation of trusts, doing interstate or foreign business. What kind of men are needed on such a commission? A commerce court was established to hear appeals. Why?

### (C) *The Presidency*

Let us see how one man decided the election of a President. The Civil War established the Republican party in power. The Democratic party was the party of opposition for the following years. Grant was elected twice (1868 and 1872) and would have accepted a third term. Why was he not nominated again? Why not elect a President three times? What should determine the number of times? What kind of man would the Republicans nominate in place of Grant? General Rutherford B. Hayes, then governor of Ohio, was chosen. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was put up by the Democrats.

What would the paramount issue be? This was the "bloody shirt" campaign—the records of each candidate in the Civil War was made an issue. How would this affect each party? The North would support Hayes; the South, Tilden. Why could Hayes count on some Southern states? The white people of the South were not yet in control in some of the Southern states, due to presence of United States troops. Why might Tilden count upon some Northern states?

After the election, it was found that while Tilden needed but one electoral vote, Hayes needed the votes of Oregon, Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina to elect him. These states were claimed by both sides, and electoral certificates were presented from both sides. How could it be settled? (See the Constitution—Amendment 12.) The Senate was Republican; the House Democratic. How would the selection of either body as a judge affect the

case? What could they do? Compromise: an act was passed whereby five senators, five representatives, and five Supreme Court justices were to constitute the electoral commission; seven Republicans and seven Democrats were selected and the two Democratic and the two Republican justices were to choose the fifth justice, who would have the deciding vote. He happened to be a Republican. How would that affect the case? On March 2, 1877, Hayes was declared elected. What would be the effect of such a delay? What is the effect of such a method of deciding things? How would such a case have been settled in the Roman Empire? By battle. Which is the better method?

Now let us see how the election of 1880 brought the Southern states into a political unity that was called the "Solid South":

In spite of the fact that Hayes gave the country one of the cleanest administrations in its history, he was called the "fraud President" by his enemies. The old machine politicians were also against him, so he did not command the support of all his party. What kind of man would they need as next President? Ulysses Simpson Grant and James G. Blaine both strove for the nomination. Each was too strong for the other. What would the Republicans have to do? General James A. Garfield was put up as a compromise candidate. The Democrats put up General Winfield S. Hancock.

Hayes had withdrawn the soldiers from the South. How would that affect the vote? Every state of the South was carried by Hancock. The South has been solidly Democratic almost ever since. How do you explain this unity in the South? The North was carried by Garfield who was elected 214 to 155.

Garfield was shot by a fanatic (September 19, 1881).

Who would succeed him? The Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur. He initiated the Civil Service system of appointments, which has been developed by his successors. What is the difference between appointment by Civil Service examinations and by the "spoils system" as introduced by Jefferson and carried out to its extreme by Jackson? Which is the better? What is the best standard for judging a system? How is the appointment of city employees determined in your city? What do you think of such a plan?

Let us now see how the people brought about what was considered a political revolution.

By 1884 the Civil War practically dropped out of politics. Tariff and finance were becoming the issues of the day. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine and the Democrats Grover Cleveland. Find out what kind of man each was. What similarity do you see between Blaine and Clay? Enemies of Blaine published certain "Mulligan Letters" to discredit him; enemies of Mr. Cleveland libeled him. It was a "mud-slinging" campaign. What was the issue at the last election in your city, men or principles? What do you think of "mud-slinging" campaigns? What do they indicate? This election marks the transition from issues to men as the paramount consideration of elections.

The "Solid South" was Cleveland's because he was a Democrat. Four Northern states voted for him. Altogether he received 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. What do you think would be the effect of such an election? The people thought it a revolution. Cleveland was the first Democrat elected to the presidency since Buchanan. The country also gave him a Democratic House. Why was the Senate still Republican? What would be the effect of a Republican Senate? During his

four years in office, Cleveland vetoed three hundred and one bills. What would be the effect of such action? Very little positive legislation. "He did not touch shoulders with Congress." Jackson vetoed less than twenty-five bills and was called a tyrant. What could you say as to the increase of the power of the presidency? Each President added to it. "In England, the king reigns but doesn't rule; in the United States the President rules but doesn't reign; in France the President neither reigns nor rules."

Let us see the result of Cleveland's policy: How would the lack of unity between the two houses of Congress affect the country? Where would the people put the blame? Cleveland developed the Civil Service policy. How would that affect him? "He was no party leader," it was said. What were his chances for renomination? He would have to overcome the opposition from within the party and then stand before the country on a record that was lacking in obvious accomplishments. Why, in the face of this, would it be wise to nominate him? The Democrats would acknowledge the failure of their party if they did not nominate him. Besides, "If we cannot elect Cleveland, whom can we elect?" they said. Suitable men were lacking.

The Republicans went over the list of war veterans. Why? Finally Benjamin Harrison was nominated. In the Republican convention a man to be nominated had to get a majority of the votes of the delegates; in the Democratic convention two-thirds of the delegates must favor the nominee. Which is the better plan?

The kind of campaign that followed these nominations can be seen in the following. The treasurer of a national committee of one of the leading parties wrote at that time: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted



man with the necessary funds in charge of these five and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket." (Civil Service Chronicle I, 78; also New York Times, Oct. 31, 1888.) What did he mean? Where did he get sufficient money for such a purpose? Why would money be given to a political party? The contributors had, as we sometimes say, an "ax to grind." This method was not limited to one party. Great "slush funds," as they were called, were raised by each party. In the following table explain how Harrison could receive such a large electoral vote with a smaller popular vote than Cleveland.

	<i>Popular Vote</i>	<i>Electoral Vote</i>
Harrison.....	5,439,853	233
Cleveland.....	5,540,329	168
Fisk.....	249,506	

Why should campaign contributions be published? What additions would you make to this law? When should the contributions be published, before or after elections? What ought to be the maximum contribution? Which contribution list indicates a healthier state of affairs—a large list of small contributions or a small list of large contributions? Who should contribute to these funds? How should the money be spent?

Let us see how the Democrats regained their power?

The Harrison administration passed a high protective tariff. Cleveland demanded a tariff for revenue only. (See Stanwood's History of the Presidency, p. 509.) Both parties softened down the position they had taken in previous years. What would be the effect of such weakening? New parties sprang up. Around the principle of wealth and its distribution arose the Socialist

party; the Populists bore the standard of the farmers' alliances and trade-unions; the anti-liquor movement was embodied in the Prohibition party. The result of the election of 1892 was:

	<i>Popular Vote</i>	<i>Electoral Vote</i>
Cleveland.....	5,556,543	277
Harrison.....	5,175,582	145
Weaver.....	1,040,886	22

The Senate and the House became Democratic. Why could Cleveland hope to accomplish more during this term?

Let us see how a candidate failed to be elected although he carried the solid South and West.

Presidential elections take place in the years that can be evenly divided by four; congressional elections take place every even year. What light does the congressional election throw upon the following presidential election? In the congressional elections of 1894 the Democrats were beaten in the great majority of the districts. What would be the Republican plan for the 1896 campaign? They would champion the causes that led to the defeat of the Democrats. How would they present platforms on these issues? Very forcefully. What would be the effect of decided positions upon several issues? What were some of the issues of the day? (Look up free silver, tariff, banks, etc.) What states would be carried by having a free-silver platform? Western. Why would a free-silver plank in the Democratic platform make the Democrats feel as if they were going to win? How would the Republican party counteract the union of the West and South in support of the Democratic party? Make every Northern state join the Republican party. How could

they do that? High tariff and a gold standard. In the North and East were the factories and money lending centers. The majority living there would want the old standard of coinage and protective tariff continued.

The Republicans nominated William McKinley, of Ohio, and the Democrats William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. A free coinage campaign followed. What is meant by free coinage? How would it have affected the value of our dollar? Why would the Western states favor it? (See p. 323, *National Problems*, Dewey.) What did Mr. Bryan mean by "16 to 1"?

Mr. Bryan traveled eighteen thousand miles in fourteen weeks, making six hundred speeches to about five million people. Why do you think he followed this method of influencing men? Mark Hanna conducted McKinley's campaign. Why do you think the Republicans did not make McKinley do as Bryan did? What could they do to defeat Mr. Bryan? They used other devices to get votes. They promised the working man a "full dinner pail"; the capitalists, a gold standard; the nation, prosperity; for the thinker, they wrote editorials. It was a bitter contest. Bryan carried the South and the West. McKinley was elected, however, by a six hundred thousand majority.

What would determine McKinley's reelection? The Republican party controlled the Senate, the House, and the presidency. What would be the effect of that? A unity and therefore an opportunity to positive action. The Dingley Tariff law and a gold standard act were passed according to the party pledges, and the Spanish-American War was successfully concluded. How would this affect the campaign of 1900? McKinley was renominated with Theodore Roosevelt as Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Bryan who made imperialism the

paramount issue. Since we had acquired various possessions as a result of the war, he raised the question: Shall the United States expand into an empire? Why did the Democrats change the issue? How could they retain the support of the silver men? Ten other parties took the field. How do you account for so many parties? Which do you think is the better plan, to have two parties or more?

	<i>Popular Vote</i>	<i>Electoral Vote</i>
McKinley.....	7,206,677	292
Bryan.....	6,374,397	155

Compare these votes with those of 1896.

What should be the policy of the United States toward its dependencies? Recall the struggle of the colonies with England. How did England look upon her colonies? As prizes for exploitation. What was the basis for such theory? The mercantile conception of trade was based on a false economic principle, that only one party to a transaction could profit by it. How is this theory demonstrated to-day? How does this discussion help our foreign policy?

Now let us see why the office of the Vice-President is such an important one. On September 6, 1901, McKinley was shot by an anarchist and died September 14. Who would succeed him? Roosevelt became President. What would he do with reference to McKinley's policies? What other men became Presidents through the death of their predecessors? Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, and Arthur. All of the latter failed to get even a nomination at the next election. How do you account for this? Roosevelt, however, was nominated by his party in 1904. How do you account for this? What kind of man would

the Democrats need to have in order to defeat him? No such person could be found. Why did the Democrats not nominate Bryan? Judge Alton B. Parker, being a conservative Democrat, was nominated. He tried to make "Trusts" the paramount issue. What was the real issue? It was Roosevelt.

	<i>Popular Vote</i>	<i>Electoral Vote</i>
Roosevelt.....	7,624,489	336
Parker.....	5,082,754	140

What do you notice about these figures? It was the largest majority any President had ever received. Judge Parker carried the "Solid South" with the exception of Missouri; Roosevelt carried every other state. At the same time five Democratic governors were elected in Northern states. What does this indicate? How do you account for Roosevelt's large following? Why do men become the paramount issue in politics?

Why would not Roosevelt run again in 1908? He promised not to, inasmuch as he had been President practically two terms. Why would the Republicans have a fair chance of success in 1908 in any case? They had been in power for twelve years. The paramount issue was the Republican party—should it be kept in power? The answer is as follows:

Taft.....	Republican	321 electoral votes
Bryan.....	Democrat	162 electoral votes
Debs.....	Socialist	450,000 popular votes
Chafin.....	Prohibition	240,000 popular votes
Three other parties.....		150,000 popular votes

Now let us see how the Republican party lost control of affairs after sixteen years of power. With the excep-

tion of two administrations, the Republican party had controlled national politics since the Civil War. What would be the tendency of such sustained control? A strong political organization was built up. What would be the nature of it? How effective would be its control over the party? What kind of man is needed to run a harmonious party organization? Why would it be especially difficult for a President to take the management after a leader like Roosevelt? How was Taft's problem made more difficult? Besides the duties of his office as President and the demands of his party as its leader, certain forces were making themselves felt.

Let us see how these forces affected Taft's position. Movements toward more democratic principles: In Wisconsin a group of Republicans championed the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. Why? In Ohio, the Democrats championed the same issue. How do you account for this? This was so in many states, primarily in the West, and on many issues, such as woman suffrage, liquor, etc. How would these new issues affect the ranks of the old parties? They would tend to split the old parties, tend to unite the Democrats and the Republicans who believed in the same policies. What would determine your position on any new doctrine if you should be sent to Washington? Would you obey your party? Your constituents? Your own judgment? What do you think of one who rejects all new ideas? Those men who think that things should remain as they are, are called conservatives; those who think that they should be as they used to be, are called reactionaries. In what ways are these two kinds of men alike? What do you think of one who accepts all new ideas? Those who think that a complete change is necessary are called radicals; those who think that gradual changes are best are called progressives. In what

ways are these two kinds of men alike? How far is every man a reactionary, radical, or progressive?

The Republicans who accepted these new ideas were called "insurgents." Why do you think they were so called? Those who were reactionary or conservative were called "standpatters." How could the "insurgents" whose numbers were comparatively small make themselves effective? Unite with Democrats and outnumber the "standpatters." In what sense did they hold the balance of power? How would that affect the Republican party? How would it affect President Taft?

In 1910 the congressional elections destroyed the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. How would that affect Taft's chances in 1912? Why was it difficult for his administration to accomplish anything in the intervening two years? Congress was divided. Why, in spite of the fact that little was done, would Taft be the favorite candidate? The Republicans' National Convention met in Chicago. If he were not nominated the Republicans would seem to acknowledge their failure. Being at the head of the party organization he would naturally be in a strong position. What courses were open to the progressive members of the party? They could raise objections. By the census of 1910, the states were all entitled to increased representation in the convention. How would this affect the number of progressive members? It might increase their number. How could the "standpatters" lessen their importance? The unit rule was passed whereby voting had to be by states rather than by individual delegates. How would this affect the influence of the progressive members? The so-called "steam-roller" obliterated them. The Progressives could assemble in another convention and nominate some one else. Compare this move with that of the Demo-



crats in 1860. (See Type Study, Slavery and the Civil War.) How could they do this? What would be their aim? To defeat Taft if nothing else. The Progressives bolted the Republican Convention and organized a new party. Roosevelt was nominated. In what way was he handicapped? The time was too short to develop a strong organization in each state. How would a six-year term (and no second term) help to solve such situations? Disadvantages of six-year term?

Another force leading to the defeat of the Republican party was the tariff. What is the "Payne-Aldrich" tariff? How did it affect the North? The Northern states differed as to its value. How would that affect the Republican party? How would it affect the authors of it? Both men were defeated at the next election.

The Democrats met at Baltimore. The contest between the progressive and the conservative elements of the party was carried on there also. Champ Clark and Woodrow Wilson contended for the nomination. Both stood upon progressive platforms. What does this indicate? What would determine the nomination? (1) Record, personality, policies, etc. (2) The number of adherents. (3) Policy. After fifty-one ballots, Wilson was nominated. Observe in the election returns whether Wilson was the choice of the majority.

	<i>Popular Votes</i>	<i>Electoral Votes</i>
Wilson.....	6,293,019	435
Roosevelt.....	4,119,507	88
Taft.....	3,484,956	8
Three others.....	1,139,060	

How do the following movements in this period indicate an advance in the struggle for political justice?

1. The direct primary law for all electors.
2. The abolition of wards and the election of small councils.
3. The short ballot.
4. The non-partisan ticket, especially for judges and city officials.
5. Simpler form of government.
6. The initiative.
7. The referendum.
8. The recall of officials.
9. Universal suffrage.
10. Publicity: What is the advantage of this American practise?
11. Civics in schools.
12. Education in general.

## PART II

### THE STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE

Let us see how our great industrial leaders gained their power.

Have various members of the class report on: How a poor boy (Rockefeller) became the richest man in the world; How a poor Scotch boy (Carnegie) became the head of the largest corporation in the world; How one man (Morgan) got the control of the money center of the United States. These industrial giants are among the powerful leaders of this period. Hill, Harriman, and Pullman could be added, as well as the Vanderbilt and Gould families. Their lives are as stirring and dramatic as any hero in history. What was the secret of their success? How was it possible for each to amass so great a fortune? How did each bring about a monopoly in some particular field? Which is better, monopoly or competition? How

far should the government control the great corporations? Why does not the government own them? What is the danger of having the wealth of the nation in so few hands? Roosevelt was called a "trust-buster"; Taft caused several corporations to be dissolved. What do you think of the popular idea of this policy? Hill recently said, "Suspend all legislation for ten years and the prosperity that would arise would astound the world." What do you think of his assertion? Ogden Armour once said, "I sold my cattle at cost price. My profits came from utilizing what other butchers wasted"—in other words, in the utilization and sale of the by-products. How far is the wealth of these men due to their ingenuity or management? How far to other factors, such as the wealth of the nation? In what sense can we say, "These men created their wealth"? Ingenuity in management. In what way did other factors, like monopoly, help them?

The inventors have contributed also to the country's development in industry. Call for short reports on the life and work of Bell, Westinghouse, Edison, etc. See:

1. Thomas Alva Edison, by W. K. Dickson.
2. Alexander Graham Bell, by O. S. Marden.
3. Four American Inventors, by F. M. Perry.
4. Stories of Industry, by A. Chase.

To what extent is an invention an imitation of a previous device? *e. g.*, What is the relation between a quill and a steel pen? An adjustable seat and an old-time desk? What was the effect of the inventions of Edison, Bell, etc.? How does one proceed to get a patent? What is the effect of a patent? To what extent should one be able to control his invention? Suppose two men were working on the same thing, as was the case with the telephone. Mr. Bell brought out his invention a few days before his competitor. Mr. Bell got everything accruing

from his invention; his competitor got nothing. What do you think ought to have been done in this case? Compare a patent with a copyright. What is the patent law? The copyright law? What is an international patent? When might an international patent be violated? In 1914 the war cut off the United States from German products. Important chemicals made in Germany and protected by international patents were thus denied us. What should the people of the United States do under such circumstances?

Now let us see what effect the inventions, the great fortunes, and the captains of industry have upon the laborers of America.

(Labor disturbances are of such frequent occurrence that it is an easy matter to base the following discussion on a strike in progress.)

Why are these men not working? They may want more money, a shorter working-day, or recognition of their union. Perhaps it may be a sympathetic strike. Let us look at the wage-scale question first. (Get the facts in the particular case under discussion.) What should determine a man's wages? In the first place, skill—that is, the difficulty of the work and the efficiency with which it is done. Compare the skill formerly needed with that needed now. What has caused the change? Machinery. What other effect has the machine had on labor? Decreased the number of skilled laborers employed. In what way does the machine increase the number employed? The truth of this fact can be readily shown by almost any industry. For example, seventy-five years ago a vase was an object of envy among the good housewives who were less fortunate than the neighbor who happened to possess one. Then came the machines that turned out vases by the thousand. What was the

result? The few artisans who had made vases by hand were put out of work, but many more men were put to work to meet the increased demand for these cheaper vases. Secondly, the demand for such labor: increasing demand for labor tends to raise the price of it, while increasing the number of laborers tends to decrease the price. In terms of an equation we have:

$$\text{Price of labor} = \frac{\text{Demand for laborers}}{\text{Supply of laborers}}$$

How would the organization of laborers into a unit affect this equation? What ought to be the equation? No absolute answer can be given. All would agree the laborer should have a living wage, but a just division of the net earnings is a difficult thing to arrive at.

In the strike under discussion, consider the demand for such work. How much skill is required? What is the supply of such skilled workers? How could the men who are skilled limit the supply of such skilled labor? Many unions regulate the number of apprentices. How could the capitalists regulate skilled labor? See a book concern or shoe factory. One hundred and twenty trades are employed to make a shoe. What is the effect of such specialization? How could this specialization be made more effective? Some concerns organize their work into such small and unique units that it is almost impossible for a man to find a similar occupation in another concern. How could you justify these two kinds of specialization? Efficiency. What objections are there to them? (Read, *One Way Out*.)

What is the effect of the importation of labor from Europe upon wages? The price of labor being inversely proportional to the amount available, immigration tends

to lessen them. One other factor has recently developed in determining wages, and that is human considerations. What is a living wage? Why should a man get enough to live upon? Make a list of necessary expenses for a week. What should be the relative cost of these items? What extra allowances should be made?

Now let us look at the second cause for strikes—a shorter working-day. How long ought this to be? What has the length of the working-day to do with the amount of work actually done? Where interest is not an integral element of the work, there is a diminishing return in each succeeding hour: if a man makes a chair in one hour, he will not make ten chairs in ten hours. “Machinery saves time” is a common saying. Why do men have to work as long now as before the machine was invented? A shoe can be made in shorter time now than it took a cobbler to put on a sole a few decades ago. Should a shoemaker work as long as the old-fashioned cobbler?

What stipulations does the Treaty of Versailles make with regard to hours of labor? (See Treaty of Versailles, Part XIII, Section 2, Article 427.)

Sometimes a union declares a strike to aid another union that is allied to it in attaining certain ends. This is called a sympathetic strike. The first one took place in Chicago, May 11, 1894. The Pullman Car Company employees made a demand on the company and were refused. What could they do? When the various railroad companies brought in their Pullman cars, everybody—engineers, brakemen, etc.—refused to handle them. How would that affect the Pullman Company? How the workmen? The public? The tie-up forced the company to concede the demands of the workers. What are the advantages of a sympathetic strike? Disadvantages? Some men propose to call out all the working men

whenever one group fails to gain a point. What do you think of such a scheme?

The fourth and last cause of strikes is for the recognition of the union. What is meant by recognition? Why is this demand made?

In 1869 the "Knights of Labor" was organized. By 1886, it had an enrollment of seven hundred and thirty thousand men, recruited from many occupations. What would be a better plan of organization? Each trade could form its own union, and with these as units form a federation of unions. From 1886, unions of this kind began to arise and were finally federated into one which is called the American Federation of Labor.

What do you think constitutes an ideal labor leader? To what temptations is he subject? How would the employers look upon such an organization as he directs? How could they combat it? Organize more effectively. What would be the result of a conflict between two such organizations? The employers could close shop; the laborers could quit work. What would be the effect? In each event business would be at a standstill. Which side would be more immediately affected? The worker would be denied his wage and face want; the owner would have his profits lessened. From 1881 to 1894 there were thirteen thousand four hundred and eighty-seven strikes in the United States; from 1894 to 1900, nine thousand two hundred and ninety-six strikes. (*Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, p. 1168.) Sixty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six places of business were affected; more than one hundred and sixty-three million dollars were lost in wages during the first period, yet there was no general starvation of the employees. Why? From 1881 to 1894, over ten million nine hundred and fourteen thousand dollars was given toward their support. Who gave



this money? Why were they willing to give it? How would the strike affect the employer? The profits of his business were affected. In the above, the owners lost over eighty-two million dollars in the first period. Which side would feel the burden the most? Who else would suffer? The public. What could the public do? "The history of strikes abundantly proves that as a rule they are not successful." (Ency. of Pol. Sc., p. 818 of vol. III.)

What could the employer do when his men quit? Get other help. What could the regular employees do? (1) Boycott the goods that were made by these men. How would they try to make that most effective? Public opinion is one of the greatest factors in our life. How could they create public opinion in their behalf? (2) Prevent the men from making the goods. Why is the "scab" treated by strikers with so much scorn? What do you think of these two ways of trying to win a strike? What is the difference between having the right to quit a job and having the right to keep any man from taking it? Let us take one strike as an example. In November, 1886, a strike was declared in Chicago, affecting thirteen thousand men. (For other examples see *Industrial Evolution* (pp. 313-323); *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. II, p. 369.) This whole period is full of such examples.

Suppose all the men walked out and the employers could not get men to take their places? What would have to be done? Arbitrate or close down. What kind of men should the arbiters be? Connected with neither side, unbiased, inherently just, honest, and wise. It is difficult to get suitable men for an arbitration board to settle a labor dispute.

What ideas would influence a decision reached by such

a board? (1) Evidence interpreted in the light of law. What kind of law would count the more—that written on books or that which is the practice of the courts of the land? (2) Principles of justice. What ideas might control an arbiter? The effect his decision would have on his personal or political career or its effect on future trouble.

What rights have both sides? Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. What does the right to life imply? Sufficient and wholesome food, proper shelter, and normal growth. How are these affected from time to time? Higher standard of living. What do these standards involve? Increased cost of necessities and increased productive power on the part of the laborer. What do you understand by liberty,—the right to do as one pleases or the right to do the right thing? What does this latter freedom involve? A teacher desires to teach in the best way. A school board may force him to do otherwise. Who is then responsible for what he does? How would the exercise of liberty affect the responsibility? How much liberty should be given the teacher? As much as he has the capacity and the will to use wisely. Wherein do employer and employee differ in their needs? In what sense are men born free? To develop themselves. In what sense are men born equal? In their right to adequate opportunity. In what sense are they not free, not equal? Not free to do wrong; not equal in capacities; that is, not identical. In what ways does differing physical capacity affect one's desires? Differing mental capacity? Just what must be made equal in order to make the contest of life fair to all. The rules of the game of life must be alike for all. How can they be made alike for all? Through the application of the principles of brotherhood and goodwill toward mankind.

What is being done in your city to develop all men to the extent of their capacities? In your state? How do the Child Labor laws and compulsory education laws affect industrial justice? Look up the "Employers' Liability Act" in your state and also the state pension and insurance laws. How do these movements affect industrial justice?

### PART III

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE

"It is difficult to describe the rapacity with which the American rushes forward to secure the immense booty which fortune proffers him." (De Tocqueville—*Democracy in America*, p. 293.)

In what ways did the early settlers exploit the new continent? Why were such methods largely justified? What would have been a more permanent method of obtaining wealth? Why didn't they develop the new continent? (1) They were more interested at first in exploring. (2) It seemed easier to move from place to place than to develop the first settlements. (3) Little was known about industries. How did the activity of the early explorers affect the problem of development in later years? Postponed and made it more difficult. By 1870 America had been entirely explored. No new lands were waiting exploration. What could the men do now? Exploit the resources. What would be the effect of such exploitation? There was much waste in the struggle to amass great fortunes. The result is that to-day one-tenth of one per cent of the people in the United States own seventy-four and six-tenths per cent of the wealth. How has the World War affected this distribution? Many additional millions were accumulated in the hands of a few hundred men. Is it wise to have

such a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few thousand men? What can be done to bring about a more equal distribution of wealth? (Amendment Sixteen is one step toward equalization.) What should be done with the remaining resources? Conserved and developed.

In what ways have the people started to conserve their natural resources—water, soil, minerals, forests, fuel, life? Irrigation: put water into desert lands; drainage: take water out of swampy lands; scientific farming: applying scientific principles to the tilling of the soil; forestry: use of surplus material only; development of by-products: elimination of waste; “safety-first”: conservation of life. Let us take up these six ways of developing and conserving these material resources and see the effect of each.

Where is irrigation needed? Arid states of West. How is it done? (Irrigation and Drainage, King, p. 66.) To what extent is it carried on?

#### CENSUS OF 1910

Number of irrigated farms in the United States...	1,440,822
Number of irrigated acres in the United States....	1,161,385,600
Number of miles of ditches.....	125,591
Total cost of the above.....	\$307,866,369
Average initial cost per acre.....	\$15.92
Average cost of maintenance per year.....	\$1.07
Average crop per acre per year.....	25.08
Maximum crop per acre per year.....	49.82
Minimum crop per acre per year.....	12.61

What do you infer from these figures? Tell the story of Salt Lake City. “They made the desert to blossom as the rose.” Why is it better for the government to carry out irrigation plans rather than private companies? What is the purpose of the Roosevelt Dam (Arizona)?

Where is drainage necessary? Flood plains of the rivers; tidal plains of the coast; swamps, as in Florida. What is the purpose of the "Rivers and Harbors Committee" of Congress? Why are millions spent to establish a nine-foot stage in the Ohio? What is the purpose of the "long wall" in the Mississippi?

How is scientific farming a great economic advance? (Read *The New Agriculture* by T. B. Collins.) What is the meaning of the cry, "Back to the Farm"? In what ways is this more intelligent farming making it more attractive? More money, more need for intelligence, more comforts, etc. Plans have been formed by benevolent societies from time to time to take the men who have failed in the city and establish them on the farm. What do you think of such a scheme? Why would it probably fail? The history of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior is very interesting.

Now let us see how forestry aids: In 1910 there were five hundred and fifty million acres of forest land in the United States, one-fifth of which is owned by the United States Government, valued at two billion dollars. Why should the United States own forest land? (See *Farmers' Bulletin 173—Primer of Forestry*, G. Pinchot.) In October of 1871, a fire at Peshtigo, Wisconsin, destroyed four billion feet of lumber and burned fifteen hundred people to death. In September, 1881, the fires in Michigan killed four hundred people, destroyed two million three hundred thousand dollars' worth of lumber and made five thousand people destitute. On September 1, 1894, at Hinckley, Minnesota, seven towns were destroyed, five hundred lives lost, and twenty-five million dollars' worth of lumber burned. In fact, since 1870 the annual loss through forest-fires has been fifty million dollars'

worth of lumber and about fifty lives. (Status of Forestry in the United States, Cleveland.) Believing that the United States should own the forests, Congress passed reservation acts, from time to time, with the following result:

Reservations by Harrison.....	13,416,710 acres
Reservations by Cleveland.....	25,686,320 acres
Reservations by McKinley.....	7,050,089 acres
Reservations by Roosevelt.....	148,346,924 acres

How do you think the United States takes care of so much forest land? Thirty-five hundred men are employed. What do they do? Replant trees in burnt over areas, cut trails, guard against and fight the forest-fires, grant grazing permits, etc. Why are the forests so valuable as to justify the employ of so many men? The forests protect the water-sheds holding the snows in the mountains and conserving the moisture in the ground so there are neither destructive floods in spring nor drouths in summer. Lumber and wood need to be conserved for future use, or it will soon be very scarce. In 1914, thirty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty-one grazing permits were given. Why? At first the forest land was under the direction of a member of the Department of Agriculture (1876). In 1881 a special division was made for forestry, and in 1901 a Bureau of Forestry was established. What was the advantage of these changes? Look up the "National Conservation Association" and the "American Forest Association." What are the aims of these societies?

What materials are now saved in manufacturing which were formerly wasted? Make a historical survey of some industry in the vicinity of the school as a type of this general tendency in production. The Standard Oil

Company and the Armour Packing Company furnish examples of what is being done everywhere on a smaller scale. List the products derived from crude oil. Almost one hundred. What are some of the things Armour sells to-day that were not part of the meat industry in 1870?

Why has "Safety First" come to be such an important consideration? Why should the growth of industry bring about an increase of accidents? About one hundred thousand people meet with accidents each year in this country alone. In 1913, seven million four hundred and fifty-five thousand five hundred and sixty-eight dollars was paid by insurance companies for accidents. (See *Popular Mechanics*, May, 1913.) What ought to be done to insure our safety? Trace the development of the Liability Acts and the Workmen Compensation Acts in your state. How do these acts affect the struggle for justice? Why were these acts passed, when a man could sue for damages before the laws were made?

A man once said, "Pump the water out of your swamps; pump water into your deserts—make your waste places fit for living and agriculture and you will have brought a new continent to the earth." To what extent is that being done?

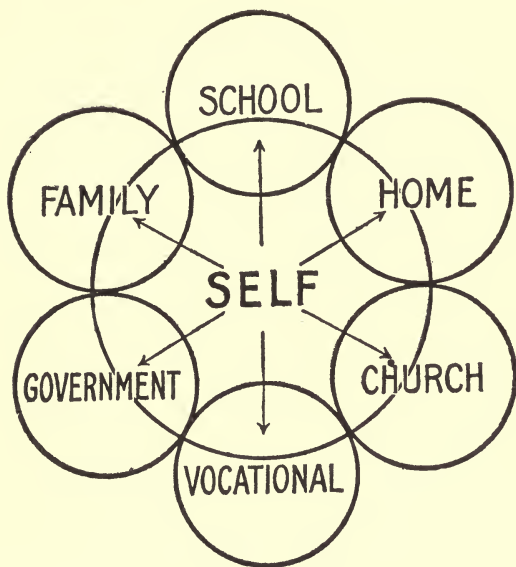
## PART IV

### THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

Let us see how each of us is united to many different groups of people. Of what are you a part that takes your time and energy: school; family; recreation groups; church; vocational groups; government. Which group do you think is the most important? Let this circle (draw one on the board) represent each one of us, and let



us call it self. How might we represent these different groups to show how they take part of the self?



Why would you not make these circles the same size? How may these groups differ? In number, in size, in wealth, in unity, in power. How do they differ in these things? How will time affect these spheres? Some will get larger; others smaller. One may even drop out. If they are always changing, what danger do they face? Being reduced unduly; being crowded out entirely; merging into others; becoming too dominating, etc. What problem, then, does the self always have? How shall we give each sphere its just due? What would be the difference between an Indian's problem and yours? The Indian has fewer spheres; his spheres are smaller; his spheres do not change so quickly nor so much.

How does civilization affect the problem? The more civilized the society, the more difficult the problem. What would happen if these spheres took up all of self? This would be a condition of absolute socialism—self would be lost in the various groups of life. In what way would it be good for one to lose self-interests entirely? In what ways would it not be good? What does it mean to be a Socialist? To belong to a Socialist party? How do you account for the great growth of such a party?

What would happen if all the groups were crowded out? This would be a condition of absolute anarchy—the self would be the all-absorbing factor in life. How would such a condition affect one's ideas and life? On May 3, 1886, during a strike at the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago, a bomb was thrown by an anarchist at a squad of policemen who were on duty. Sixty policemen were wounded and seven were killed. Several of the anarchists of Chicago were tried and sentenced to death. Is capital punishment justified?

Some people believe in absolute socialism and some in absolute anarchy. Why should we take a middle course between these extremes? Each one of us must establish and maintain a proper relationship between self and each group and among the various groups, so as to enable us to do the greatest good both for himself and for society. How does time affect this problem? How does one's age affect it?

In what ways is the life of a hermit incomplete? What line of thought might lead one to such a solitary life? What benefits to society may grow out of it? Discuss the influence of country life and city life upon the development of these spheres. How has this social tendency affected man's progress? What further progress do you think there is still to make? Draw the circles representing this state of progress.

What animals have this community instinct? Those which swarm, herd, flock, etc. What advantages are derived by it? How does it differ from the human instinct?

Should the circles be the same for every man? Why should the social instinct be fostered in the United States especially? How is this instinct fostered in America as in no other country? Cite a case from everyday life to illustrate a phase of the social instinct. Read—(1) Damon and Pythias—Old Greek Stories, Guerber. (2) Before Adam, Jack London. (3) Ab. Compare the social instinct as found in Red Eye or in Ab with that in Damon or Pythias.

How does the family sphere help us to attain social justice? "The end of the family is not economic profit but mutual aid and the continuance of the race." (Dewey and Tuft, p. 593.)

We have learned that man is a social animal. Which is the stronger element in him—social or animal? Which groups help most in each case? How? How does the civilized man differ in this particular from the Indian? Which group aids both elements the most? A little discussion will bring the class to see that it is the family.

So, then, let us see what relation should exist between each one of us and the family groups to which we belong. What is the difference between the family of which you are a member and the one to which your parents belonged? What is the effect of life in apartments? The effect of the fireplace? The radiator? The tendencies to essential differences between the old and the new family can be arranged by the children in some such outline as the following, of course after many specific examples and full discussions:

<i>Tendencies of Old Family</i>	<i>Tendencies of Modern Family</i>
(a) Employment—At one place. All together. Doing everything.	Any place. Each different. Specialized.
(b) Home—A little community with the fireplace as the center.	A convenient place for meals and lodging.
(c) Spirit—Attitude of obedi- ence on the part of chil- dren toward parents.	Feeling of responsibility of parents for children.
(d) Number—Many.	Fewer.
(e) Ideals—Generally all had similar.	More likelihood of difference in ideals.

What does this show us about the change of society in America from the first settlements to the present day? What are the differences between the present generation and the one that preceded it? Which is the better? It will be seen that the family of the present day is unique. In what respects? Compare the modern family with that of the pioneer. The family of the tenement and that of the farm. Compare the "family circle" of Whittier's *Snowbound* or that in Burns' *Cotter's Saturday Night* or the one in Dickens' *Christmas Carol* with one represented by some member of the class. What would you say the problems of the family are? Most of the following will come directly from the above comparisons.

Let us first take up the problems of the father. What should the father do? He must provide the shelter. What is the effect of owning your own home? What is the effect of tenement life on the family? The father must provide food and clothing. How can you help in this problem? What are the advantages of definite occupation? Of responsibility? The father must provide

for education. How long ought he to send you to school? How is the child benefited by acquiring these advantages? How would these benefit the father and mother? What should the father receive in return for all these? What authority does the father have? How can you best honor your father?

How does the mother's work differ from the father's? How are they alike? What is the effect of a mother's being a good housekeeper? The physical welfare of the children is more likely to be assured. A mother being in a profession? Few children; intellectual emphasis. A mother working for a living? Children are left alone or taken into custody by schools or other institutions. Forty years ago these questions were hardly raised. Now we constantly meet them. How do you account for the change?

What are the duties of the child in the family? Help younger brothers and sisters, help parents in household and outside duties, run errands, etc. In several school systems credits are given for work done at home. What kind of work might this be? Canning fruit, mowing lawns, cleaning walks, milking cows, gardening, etc. How would this affect the connection between the home and the school? Bring them closer together. What would be the effect of such unity? It would raise the standard of both home and school work. What work ought the child not to do? Why is it not good for young children to work in factories? Frequently poor air, long hours, set tasks, lack of opportunity for growth and recreation. Under what conditions and to what extent should a child help in the support of the family? When the family is in absolute need and when the state fails to support it. "Widows' pension" laws are in force in several states. What is the purpose of the National Child

Labor Committee? What are the child labor laws of your state? How do you account for the growth of this association and the making of such laws? How will the employers' liability laws affect child labor?

How does the night school affect the family? What is the value of celebrating birthdays? What is the effect of politeness in the family? How would you proceed to select a home? What is the relation of this section to our struggle for justice?

Why should the recreation circle be a part of the self? Examine your play and work—is there room enough for both? What can you do about it? What is the difference between recreation and work. To what extent can one get pleasure out of his work? If one could choose his work, to what extent could he do without recreation? Why do some men hate their work? Do you see any relation between the kind of work a man does and the kind of recreation he pursues? How do you think we can solve this recreation problem? This is not a superficial problem. It goes to the very heart of the problem of the spheres. Often parish houses are operated in districts of the city, where a change in housing would render them unnecessary.

How do the following attempts affect the problem: Saturday half holiday? Eight hour laws? Vocational schools? Continuation schools? Find specific example of these in your own state.

Mr. Russell Sage never took a vacation and opposed the whole theory of a week off once a year. How does this practise of taking a vacation affect our problems? What are the possibilities of a vacation? How do you spend your vacation? What has been its effect upon you? How could you arrange or use your vacation to better advantage? How does a clean city affect the vacation problem?

Why should education be a part of the self? Why do you go to school? Many answers may be given—from compulsion to pleasure. Eventually the purpose of the school will be found in the idea of proper growth. What would be necessary for us to know before we could provide for proper growth? What we are best fitted to do. Why, then, ought one to go to school? To find out what he is fitted for; to find out ways of attaining the standard of perfection in that line of development. What else? Learn to spend leisure wisely. In what other ways is your school helping to fulfill these aims more than the school of your father's day? In 1865 there were only forty public high schools in the United States. By 1890 there were two thousand five hundred and twenty-six. Since 1890, there has been an average construction of one high school a day. In 1910 there were ten thousand two hundred and thirteen high schools with an enrollment of almost a million. The number of private high schools moved from one thousand six hundred and thirty-two to one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one in that time. How do you account for this small increase? The elementary schools showed an even greater increase. School compulsory laws were passed in almost every state. The number of required years was increased. To-day there are over twenty million children in the elementary schools. The population grew from thirty-one million to one hundred million in that time. What do these figures mean? In 1865 there was one high school to every thirteen thousand. How many are there to-day? Study the courses offered by the high school to which the pupils are going. How do these courses compare with those of the high schools of earlier days? How do you account for the increased attendance?

In what other ways are people educated? Universities and special schools, libraries, public lectures, public



press, organizations, family, church, clubs, moving pictures, etc.

How does the high school differ from the elementary school? The difference is in the material. The child is older. In the elementary school a general foundation is laid; in high school the child is given opportunity to find his interests and also to prepare for college. This period of our history developed the high school. How does this affect the problem of the high school? Get your high school course of study. What does it offer to you?

How does the high school differ from the college and university? How was the work in colleges and universities expanded in this period? This period was very productive in establishing higher institutions of learning. Among these were Johns Hopkins University, established in 1876; Tulane University, in 1884; Leland Stanford, in 1891; Chicago University, in 1892. All the Western and many of the Eastern and Southern states have state universities and agricultural colleges. Various members of the class can report on these universities. How do these universities and colleges differ from those of previous periods? There has been a movement from the narrow general course to a wide range of electives and specialized courses; from formal rigid discipline to freedom. This same tendency has been observed in athletics.

Periodicals are great educators. In 1912 nearly twenty-three thousand newspapers and magazines were published in the United States. In New York City alone there are nearly nine hundred newspapers. In the world the number reaches about sixty thousand (The Annual, N. W. Ayer & Son). The daily paper has in many cases become an "hourly." Why is the newspaper in such demand? What are its weaknesses? Its virtues? What do you think is the effect of the newspaper in our country?

Which has the greater force in politics—the magazine or daily newspaper? Which is the more independent of political influence? How far should advertisers in a newspaper affect its news? Its editorials?

What writers have done sufficiently good work to be remembered? What is the relation between the “six best sellers” and the six best books?

Why is religion an important part of self. (Because of the complexity of the religious aspect of our cosmopolitan life it has seemed best to leave this plan entirely to the individual teacher.)

## PART V

### THE STRUGGLE FOR INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

#### (A) *The Question of Immigration*

I saw an immigrant on the way to school this morning. How do you think I knew he was an immigrant? His attire. What was there characteristic about it? A red kerchief about the neck, etc. The class will see the uncertainty of this. His features: What were they? Size, etc. The class will probably make the point that there is nothing distinguishing about his size. His action: How? Peculiar gesticulation. But some Americans are also demonstrative. His language: But do all Americans speak English? You have failed to find any one distinctive point of the immigrant. Still, you knew him to be an immigrant. How did you know it? By all these various marks put together. So, then, we find that the immigrants have elements that are identical with the elements of the people of this country. What does this fact indicate? That they can be made into Americans. However, in their entirety peoples are different.

How do these differences affect their problem here?

They make it difficult. Their problem is hard as it is, but these differences tend to prevent the sympathetic consideration that they need. How are the immigrants sometimes treated? Called names, and given the most unsuitable forms of work. Most of them, used to country life in Europe, are huddled in crowded industrial centers over here. Why does this occur? What is the effect of it?

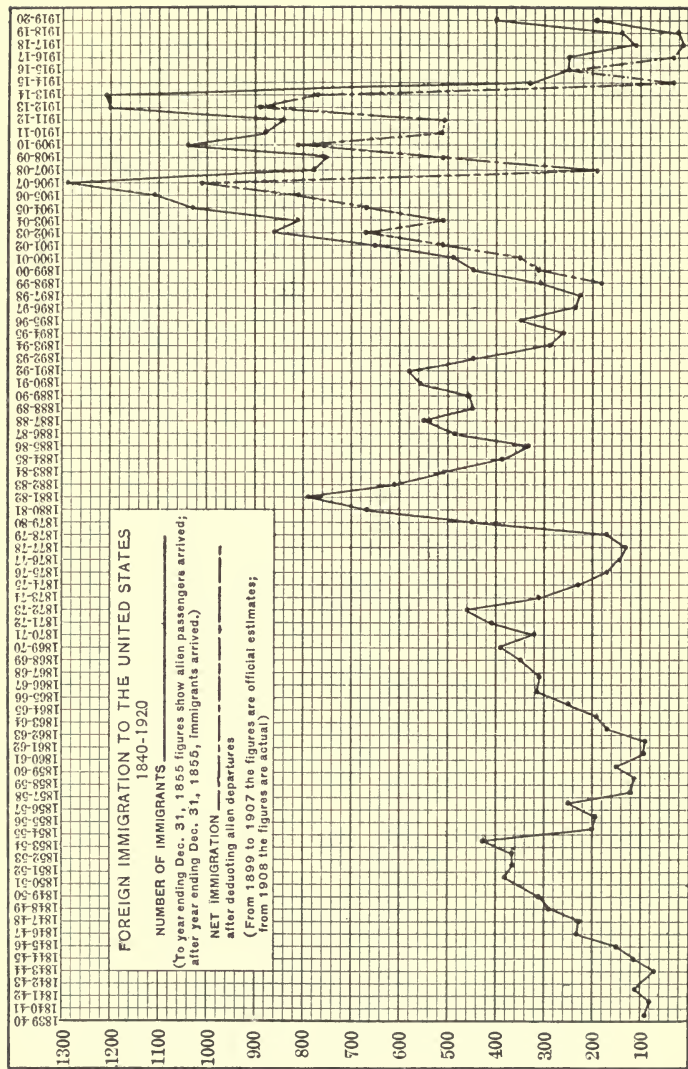
Why did they leave Europe? Some to escape military service; some were dissatisfied with their government; others to escape poverty, overpopulation, pressure of relatives. Why did they come to America? Call for labor; rumors of wealth and freedom; brought by parents; ignorance of comparative conditions in Europe and America.

Let us see in what numbers they are coming and what we are going to do with them. Examine the chart on opposite page.

The horizontal lines indicate the number of immigrants; the vertical lines indicate the years.

What do you think is the most striking fact shown here? The present preponderance of immigrants from southern Europe. How many? The unevenness of both lines. Why are they so? What do they probably tell us about the conditions in Europe? The history of America? The high points show good times in America and hard times in Europe; the low points show the reverse, relatively. How would you explain each of these low points definitely? Each high point? How do you account for the preponderance of southern Europeans? What special problems does this bring to us? Suggestions have been made for their solution? What would you suggest to remedy this situation?

Why do some men want to exclude all immigrants? Because of differing ideals and standards of living. Why



do some want to exclude none? Because of the need for unskilled labor, and because of the belief that they will develop into desirable citizens.

How can we follow the third policy that is somewhere between these two extremes? We want immigrants, but not too many. When are we getting too many? When are we getting more than we can assimilate or a kind that we cannot assimilate? What kind of people do not furnish good material for American citizenship? Those who are unhealthy in body or mind. Those who are unable to make a living at a trade or profession to which they are suited. Those who possess ideas that are incompatible with our institutions.

Why are the Chinese excluded? (Causes are given in histories.) Why did Dennis Kearney end every speech with, "The Chinese must go." Why did the working men demand the passage of the "Exclusion Act?" The Chinese had a lower standard of living and could therefore work cheaper than the American. Why do the Japanese object? The people of California object to the immigration of Japanese. (Study the Japanese land question in California and the objections to the Japanese in our public schools.) How do these exclusions and acts affect our relationship with those countries? When do you think desirable citizens ought to be restricted? When we have a sufficient number of people here. How would such a restriction affect our relationship with the rest of the world? How would it affect the United States? How can we make an equitable basis for restriction? What do you think might be a test for literacy? What is being done for those already here? What more should be done?

How is the problem of the tenement connected with the immigration problem? Thousands return home an-

nually. What kind of men are they? The more prosperous. What would be the effect of their return? More would be encouraged to migrate to America. Democratic ideals would be carried to Europe. Some men object to this practise on the grounds that the United States loses the money they take with them. How would you answer such an argument? They took away the money, but left the canal, railroad, or whatever it was they helped to build. How does their case differ from that of the rich Americans going to Europe?

Let us see in what sense we are all foreigners. How did the earlier immigration affect the United States? The political strife in Europe brought us an army of men with high ideals and undaunted courage, who helped in developing America and in maintaining the Union. Every city presents a long list of responsible and influential citizens, who were once natives of other lands. One out of every two in America is either foreign born or of immediate foreign extraction. (*Hart's National Ideals Historically Traced*, page 42.)

How may an immigrant become a voter? Judge Barnard naturalized ten thousand foreigners in sixteen days. (*Breen's Twenty Years of New York Politics*, page 318.) What danger does this indicate? How is such a thing possible? How have steamship companies complicated the immigration question? Why are they not inclined to help limit it? How could they be made to do so? Government control.

What is the present law concerning the immigrant? (See *United States Congressional Bulletin*.) What are its weaknesses? How would you remedy them? How do the good points of this law affect the question? How does the law affect our relationship with the countries of the world?



What obligations does the United States assume toward these immigrants? What are the obligations toward the countries from which these immigrants come? How do these obligations affect the relationship of the United States to those countries? (See D. R. Dewey's *National Problems*, pp. 205, 206.) A mob in New Orleans put to death twenty-two Italians. What could the United States Government do? What could Italy do? Blaine said, "I do not recognize the right of any government to tell the United States what it shall do." (Letter to Baron Fava, March 26, 1891.) How far was this affair a local matter? A matter for the United States Government? A matter dealing with international law? What big problems does this incident raise? How can they be solved?

### (B) *The Spanish-American War*

Let us see how the Spanish-American War affected the position of the United States in the world.

Why did the European nations colonize America? Which nation do you think exploited the new world most? Spain. What was the result of her policy? State by state became independent. An entire continent—South America—was lost to her. Mexico had become free in 1828. (See the chapter on the slavery question.) The United States bought the Floridas. By 1896, Spain held only Cuba and Porto Rico in the Western Hemisphere. How do you think she would treat these last two possessions? "The wise man is not he who never makes mistakes—it is he who never makes the same mistakes twice." In what sense was Spain unwise? How should a mother country treat her possessions?

But Spain mistreated the people in these places, as she had done elsewhere. The many insurrections were



put down with great severity. Why did not the people free themselves as the others had? They tried but failed.

Why would the people of the United States be interested in the Cubans? Their misery, their struggle for freedom, their proximity, their trade with the United States (one hundred million dollars a year), the great amount of American money invested there, all aroused the sympathy of the people of the United States. Back in 1843 Webster said, "She (Spain) might rely upon the whole naval and military resources of this country to aid her in preserving or recovering it" (Cuba). He voiced the sentiments of Jefferson, Adams (J. Q.), and Clay. Why were they of that opinion? Why did they prefer Spain to England as a neighbor? Commercially, Spain was less enterprising. Why would they prefer to see Cuba free rather than in possession of Spain? 1. We desire all parts of America to be free. 2. Frequent insurrections disturbed trade. 3. A free Cuba would be a better neighbor to us.

What could the people of the United States do during these insurrections in Cuba? In the "Ten Years War" (1868-78) between Cuba and Spain Grant seriously considered intervening and annexing Cuba to the United States. He brought the matter before the committees in Congress. From time to time private citizens of the United States sent ammunition to the "insurrectos." What do you think of such activity? A feeling grew in the United States that the "laws of political gravitation would inevitably draw it (Cuba) to the United States." How would all this affect the relationship between the United States and Spain? Continual breaches of goodwill would result.

In February, 1895, the last insurrection of Cuba under Maximo Gomez broke out. What could he do to win independence for the island? He thought that whole-

sale destruction of the property of the island might exhaust Spain or bring the United States to its help. How could Spain meet such activity? General Weyler, the Governor, fought "fire with fire." How would such policies affect the United States? By 1897 sixteen million dollars' worth of property belonging to the United States and its citizens was destroyed. What would these people do? Demand indemnity. How would they proceed to get it? Many Cubans had gone to America, had become citizens, and then had returned to Cuba. How would they differ from those who had stayed in Cuba? What could they do to resent Spanish cruelty? What would the United States have to do in such cases? How would that affect Spain? On April 4, 1896, the United States offered to mediate between Spain and Cuba. Spain replied that Cuba had "one of the most liberal political systems in the world." What does this statement show us of Spain's attitude? Her cruelty continued. Her new policy was centered upon Havana. People were turned from their homes. Spain tried to stamp out all opposition with brute force. By January, 1898, "about four hundred thousand self-respecting people of Havana, principally women and children, were transformed into a multitude to be sustained by the contributions of others or die of starvation." Of these fifty-two thousand died in a short time. Each objection to such cruelty was met by a new policy against the Cubans, who were no better off than they formerly were, perhaps worse. What effect would all this have upon the citizens of the United States? What could they do? On January 25, 1898, the United States battleship Maine arrived in the harbor of Havana. How would the Spanish authorities look upon this ship? On February 15, at 9:40 P. M., the Maine was suddenly destroyed with a crew of two hundred and fifty-eight.

What was to be done? A committee investigated and found in the evidence available at the time that it had been caused by a mine. If a mine had been put there, who would be blamed? Spain, who looked upon the Maine as a trespasser; Cubans, as a means to get the United States into the struggle. The cause of the explosion was never determined satisfactorily, but many believed that it was an internal explosion. How would the people of the United States look upon the disaster? Many newspapers took up the war cry. While the Maine was at anchor in the bay the Spanish ambassador wrote a letter to a friend in Havana, speaking of the President of the United States in abusive terms. The letter was found and published in the United States about the same time that the Maine was destroyed. What would be the effect of such a letter at such a time? Intensify the feeling in the United States. Spain recalled her ambassador. What would be the effect of this? What ground had the United States for declaring war then? Things grew worse and worse. Many people here demanded war. The authorities negotiated. Finally, on April 19, Congress drew up the following resolutions:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

1. "That the people of Cuba are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent.
2. "That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuban waters.
3. "That the President of the United States be and hereby is directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and to call into actual

service of the United States the militia of the several states to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect."

What do these resolutions mean? How could you justify such intervention? What would Spain think the purpose of the United States was? How would this view affect the thoughts of the European nations? How could the United States dispel this idea? A fourth resolution was added, saying that,

4. "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when it is accomplished to give the government and control of the island to its people."

What would be the effect of this resolution? How did it differ from the usual custom of nations? On April 20 the President signed these resolutions. What did his act mean? War was declared between the United States and Spain.

What would Spain do? Protect her possessions. What were they? Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands. How would she do it? Admiral Montojo went to Manila with a fleet which was protected by land batteries, Admiral Cervera protected the West Indies with a fleet, Captain-General Blanco was in command of the forces in Cuba. What would the United States do? Direct its army and navy and make an attack upon these possessions.

The history texts describe how the United States took these possessions. What did these victories mean? Spain must yield to the demands of the United States. How would the matter be settled? Peace was made in Paris, February, 1899. What questions would have to

be settled in the treaty of peace? United States troops were in possession of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Cuba. What might the United States have done with these islands? She might have given them back to Spain; annexed them to the United States; made them independent. What are the advantages of each policy? The disadvantages of each? The United States took over Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines; Cuba became an independent commonwealth under the protection of the United States; the United States paid Spain twenty million dollars for the Philippines. What did this add to the jurisdiction of the United States in area and population? A population of ten million and an area of about one hundred and sixteen thousand square miles. Why could the United States dictate the terms of peace? What do you think of these terms?

After the war it was found that more men had died from disease than from actual fighting. How was this possible? What does it show? What could be done? (Consult the texts.) (See: *The United States In Our Own Times*, Haworth, p. 255.) "Measured by the amount of blood shed, the war was in fact a petty affair." In what way was the war a great affair? "For better or worse the United States dropped its traditional policy of isolation and stepped out upon the broad stage of international affairs."

What questions would the treaty of peace raise? Government of possessions. How do you think they should be governed? How are the Philippines now governed? (*Statesman's Year-Book*, 1919; and *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 39, Part I.) How does such possession affect the world-power of the United States?

At the outset of the war, the sympathy of Europe was largely with Spain. Toward the close of the war, the

nations of Europe vied with each other to demonstrate their good-will toward the United States. How do you account for this change?

(C) *The Panama Canal*

Let us see how the Panama Canal affects our relationship with the rest of the world.

What do you know about this canal? (Hear reports on the coast, size, location, and history of the canal. Present a few pictures, maps, and sections.) Why was such a canal built? To save time and money. Why wasn't it built a long time ago? Funds and ability were lacking. Why did the United States build it? Mr. Hayes said, "such a canal would virtually be a part of our coast line." In what sense was he right? Why was it expedient for the United States to own such a canal? Many people urged that our industries and the industries of the world had progressed to a stage where such a canal became a necessity. The very fitness of the United States for such a task fixed upon her the responsibility of building it. What do you think of such logic? Why was the United States more able to do it than any other nation? Than England, for example? Wealth, location, engineers.

Why would the settlement following the Mexican War bring up this canal question? (See Type Study on Slavery and the Civil War.) California came into the Union in 1850. What were the arguments for building the canal at that time? It took from three to eight months to go from San Francisco to New York by water. How long by rail? This canal would unite the eastern and western coasts. Time would be saved and dangers lessened. What would be the first steps necessary? In 1846 the United States entered into a treaty with New Granada (now Col-



ombia), by which the right to the present waterway was assured. England about the same time held the right to construct a canal through Lake Nicaragua. (Look on the map.) Which is the better way? Nicaragua—nearer to the United States; flatter country; the lake itself would save several miles of canal. Panama—only forty-seven miles in width, whereas the former was one hundred and ninety miles in width; an excellent harbor at either end of it; the task had already been started. Why were two such canals out of the question? What could England and the United States do to offset a policy that would lead to the construction of two canals? They made a treaty whereby one nation would share the benefits of the canal with the other that built it. (See the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty: a canal to be built by private corporation under international control.) What would be the advantage of such a treaty to the United States? To England? The disadvantages to both? President Cleveland always opposed “entangling alliances.” Was this one? What do you think of such a policy? A European statesman once said, “treaties were only made to be broken.” What did he mean?

In 1878 Colombia gave to France the right of way over the Panama route. What could the United States do then? Very little. What could France do? A company was formed and the builder of the Suez Canal (Ferdinand de Lesseps) was made its chief engineer. How would this new canal affect the Suez? Take much of the trade away. De Lesseps planned a tide level canal. What advantage has a tide level canal over a lock canal? What are its disadvantages? In some places the tide level canal necessitated a cut through hills three hundred feet high. From 1881 to 1889 the work went on. Two hundred and sixty million dollars was spent; very little was accom-



plished. In 1889 the company became bankrupt. Why? The financiers had been dishonest; the management corrupt. How would such a failure affect the building of the canal?

When the war broke out with Spain in 1898 the United States battleship Oregon was in San Francisco. How could it get to Cuba? How far is that? (Fifteen thousand miles.) How long do you think it would take to go? How might this long journey have been avoided? Why would the canal make only one fleet necessary for both our coasts? What might have happened if a greater nation had been at war with the United States? What would the people say? What would be the effect of this speculation? The people again demanded a canal through the Isthmus.

What were the difficulties that stood in the way of such a task? The failure of the French Company—The treaty with England—The problem of who should do it, the United States government or a private company. How could these objections be met? Congress bought the right to build a canal by way of Lake Nicaragua from a New York company that had planned to build it. How would such a purchase affect England? In November, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was signed, giving the United States the right to build the canal. How would such activity on the part of the United States affect the price of the French rights in the Panama district? The United States gave forty million dollars for these rights. If you had been a stockholder in the French Company to the amount of one thousand dollars how much would you have received? How had the United States forced the sale? Conditions were now favorable for the United States to build a canal over either route. Colombia now refused to ratify the compact made with

the French Company. What could the United States do? Panama revolted from Colombia on November 3, 1903. On November 13, the United States recognized her as an independent nation. A treaty was made with Panama whereby the Panama Canal tract was bought for ten million dollars, cash, and two hundred and fifty thousand dollars per year forever thereafter. The work was soon begun and completed by 1914. (Call for a few reports on the work done here.) Who was Colonel Goethals? How did the government meet the problems of sanitation?

Just before the completion of the canal, the question of tolls arose in Congress. What shall we charge the ships of the different nations for passage through the canal? How would you answer this question? Charge them all the same rate, but let the United States go free. Charge them all the same rate, but let England and the United States go through free or at greatly reduced rates. Charge all nations the same rate. Which is the best plan? How would the first policy affect our relationship with the other nations of the world? How would it affect you? Big business? What do you think of this last plan that was adopted? How would such a policy affect international thought and action? America has had a growing influence for many years. How can she maintain and increase this influence? By being fair and just in her intercourse with other nations. In what sense is the Panama Canal America's gift to the world?

What is the purpose of a treaty? A written understanding between two nations. What are the factors that determine it? When can a treaty be abrogated? (See Wilson and Tucker, pp. 39, 40, 217). Compare a treaty with a contract. Why are all contracts, to which one party has been forced, invalid? What is the effect of a

treaty between nations, the one having far more wealth and power than the other? How can justice be established between nations of greater and less power? How did the Covenant of the League of Nations provide for justice in the making of treaties? (Articles 18, 19, 20.)

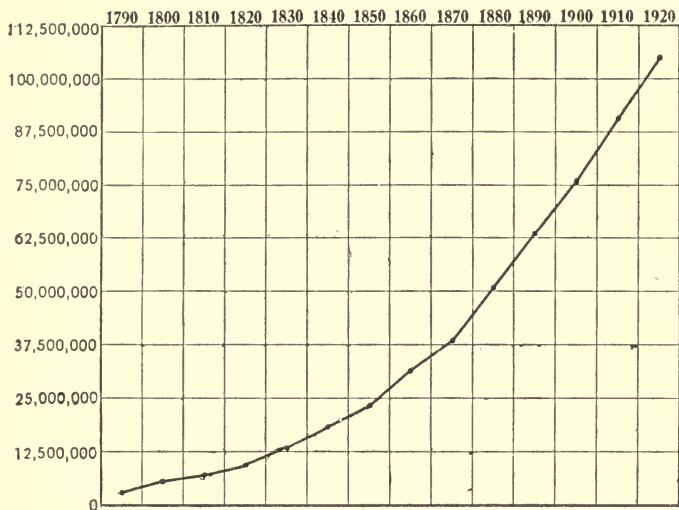
## PART VI

### THE UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER

Let us see how all these problems and struggles have helped to make the United States a world power. (A Course in Citizenship and Patriotism, pp. 282.)

In the first place, the size of the United States helps to make it a world power. What is included in size? Population, territory. What is the size of the territory? What is the size of its possessions? What proportion of the whole world are these? How do these compare with the land under the British flag? China? How many countries are larger than the United States? How does the size of the territory of the United States affect its problem as a world power? How does the scattered character of its area affect its problem as a world power? The growth of population in the United States is shown in the chart on the next page.

What is the most striking fact about this chart? Remarkable increase. How does that affect the problem of the United States as a world power? How many people are under the jurisdiction of the United States? What countries include more people? What are some other factors that make up the strength of a people? Intellectual attainment; physical prowess; moral status, and so on. What do you consider the distinctive American traits? The undeveloped wealth of this continent has animated the purpose of the people and made them



enterprising and self-reliant. How does the very size of the population of the United States make it a world power? Its influence is felt in added measure, because it contains elements drawn from every nation under the sun. Fifty per cent of the population are either foreigners or of foreign parentage. How does this affect our knowledge of and interest in the nations of the world? In what way is this a benefit? The dissemination of liberal thought and action. How will this affect the unity of the nations of the earth? What are some of the things that make all the nations one? (A Course in Citizenship and Patriotism, pp. 326.) What different? Why is world unity a benefit to each individual country? What is the general aim of the League of Nations as given in the Preamble to the Covenant?

The second factor that determines the world power of the United States is its products:

1913

<i>Products</i>	<i>United States' Output</i>	<i>Rest of the World's Output</i>
1. Wheat.....	730,267,000 bu.	2,921,088,000 bu.
2. Corn.....	3,124,746,000 bu.	781,186,500 bu.
3. Coal.....	491,071,429 tons	1,473,284,287 tons
4. Iron (pig).....	27,726,937 tons	89,180,801 tons
5. Cotton.....	4,567,477,501 lbs. (500 lb. bales)	2,955,426,617 lbs. (500 lb. bales)

What is the most striking feature of the above lists? In the case of other necessities, the United States would occupy a very important place. It has been said that if we should establish the closed-door policy in the United States we would ruin the rest of the world. What is the strength and what is the weakness of this statement?

We are utilizing our resources to a relatively successful degree. How could we increase our success in this direction?

What has been the effect of our immigration problem on industry? On our growth toward world power? What has been the effect upon industry of the achievements of inventors and industrial leaders? Upon our growth toward world power?

What effect do a large population and industrial resources have upon the United States? Wealth. Wealth, then, is the third factor that determines the world power of the United States. In what sense is it *the* determining factor? It includes the other two. Let us study the influence of wealth upon our struggle for world power separately.

Wherein is its greatest wealth? Natural resources. What are they? Iron, coal, soil, water, climate, etc., the varied conditions. What ought we to do with these resources? Conserve and develop them. Examine the two lists below:

## THE TEN LEADING ITEMS—1913

<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>
Cotton.....\$547,357,195	Coffee.....\$118,963,209
Iron and steel.... 304,605,797	Hides (skins).... 117,386,174
Copper..... 140,164,193	Sugar..... 103,639,823
Oils..... 129,666,995	Chemicals..... 99,350,155
Wood..... 115,704,777	Silk..... 84,914,717
Hog products..... 114,853,303	Fiber, manufac- tured articles... 76,972,416
Wheat..... 89,036,438	Cotton products.. 66,065,857
Leather..... 63,893,351	Tin products..... 53,112,594
Vehicles..... 54,585,888	Art work..... 52,875,637
Flour..... 53,171,537	Jewelry..... 50,518,023

The total exports mounted to two billion six hundred and fifteen million two hundred and sixty-one thousand and eighty-six dollars; imports, one billion nine hundred and twenty-three million four hundred and seventy thousand seven hundred and seventy-five dollars. What was the trade balance? Compare that balance with that of 1917, 1918, 1919.

What do these columns show? Exports are larger and nearer the raw product. How could we increase the value of the exports? Make the raw material into finished products and utilize what heretofore has been considered waste.

If everybody in the United States would sell everything he had, at the market price, it would take about one hun-

dred and thirty-five billion dollars to buy it all. How much would that allow every man, woman, and child if it was evenly distributed? About one hundred and thirty-five dollars. What would be the disadvantage of so dividing our wealth? Great undertakings would be impossible; it would soon come into a few hands again. Let us see how the wealth of the United States is distributed.

One-tenth of one per cent of the population own seventy-four and six-tenths per cent of the wealth. (1910.) What does this indicate? How did the World War affect this distribution?

Over seventy per cent of the population own but four and two-tenths per cent of the wealth. What does this mean? That there are sixty-three million people in the United States who own less than eighty-five dollars apiece. What do these two facts show? A very uneven distribution. What do you think of such a distribution? How do you think it ought to be distributed?

According to pre-war statistics, how did the total wealth of the United States differ from that of England? Eighty billion dollars. From France? Sixty-five billion dollars. From Germany? Forty billion five hundred million dollars. From Russia? Forty billion dollars. How have these been affected by the World War? Made more uneven. How does the per capita wealth of the United States differ from that of these countries? The average working man in the United States possesses more wealth than the average citizen of any other country; there are more wealthy people in the United States than in other countries; the total wealth of the United States is the greatest of all nations. How does this greater wealth affect the United States as a power in the world? United States money is invested everywhere. How does



this affect the relationship of the United States with other nations? Much foreign money is invested in the United States. How do you account for this? Great resources to be developed. What is the effect of this intermingled capital? To what ought this to lead? International regulation. (Study the Proceedings of the International Financial Conference, Brussels, September, 1920, called by the Council of the League of Nations.)

A fourth factor is the democratic ideal of our people. How is the United States a pioneer of democracy? In 1776 the ideals of our democracy were considered impracticable. What was our aim in going into the World War? "The world must be made safe for democracy." (President Wilson's Message to Congress, April 2, 1917.)

When our country made its first attempt to break away from the ties that bound it to the Old World and its traditions, and to work out a new ideal in which man was made the end of government, George III was struggling against the ideals of democracy in England, Louis XV was holding the French people in absolute subjection, and Frederick the Great was attempting to extend his despotic powers. How far did the United States aid in bringing about a change? How can the United States aid in developing it in the future? By living up to those ideals. How does the democratic theory affect the influence of the United States over other nations? The effectiveness of its ideals is impressive; the strength of its champions give it added power. To what extent do our social institutions illustrate the strength of this theory? In what ways are we promoting brotherhood and service to mankind in the United States?

Let us see some illustrations of the nation's good offices in the world's politics. What do you think indicates it?

(See: America as a World Power, I. H. Lalane, pp. 242.)  
The United States has acted in sixty cases of arbitration for other nations. How does this indicate its world power? (See the case of "China and the Powers of the World," p. 100, in America as a World Power.)

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